carolina planning

vol. 10, no. 1, summer 1984

tenth anniversary issue

Editors' Notes

Our observance of carolina planning's tenth anniversary, like that of most milestones, is a bit of old and new; of looking behind and projecting ahead. The front and back covers of this issue contain design elements from Vol. 1 No. 1 of carolina planning, most notably the "cp" that was introduced on the title page of that first issue and at the beginning of each article. We've reintroduced that symbol throughout this issue's text to mark the ends of articles. New elements in this issue include some deviations from standard page format of the past few years.

The reader survey that appeared in the last issue is another part of our birthday self-assessment. We appreciate the diversity of your comments -- both praise and criticism -- and will publish the results in the next c.p. The carolina planning index, found at the back of this issue, is provided as a reference for our readers, and points out the range and depth of planning topics we've addressed over the years.

In this issue, don't miss a historical perspective of c.p. written by its first editor, Nancy Grden-Ellson. There are other reflections. Laura Webb Margeson writes of her relaxed interview with recently retired Wake County Planning Director John Scott. Wes Hankins and Richard Stephenson celebrate another anniversary in this issue -- the tenth for East Carolina University's undergraduate planning degree -- with a historical look at the planning program there with emphasis on curriculum development.

Lawrence E. Susskind describes planning as a process of mediation. He notes similarities between a negotiated investment strategy process and the typically-construed planning process, with an important difference: the planner's responsibility for building consensus.

Nancy Randall and Beverly Kawalec both address downtown revitalization, although at different scales and via different programs. Randall writes of the role of a "private investment and public cooperation partnership" and its development arm in "single-handedly and dramatically" changing the character of New Brunswick, New Jersey. Kawalec describes and analyzes revitalization strategies through the Main Street Program in the North Carolina towns of Tarboro, Rocky Mount, and Wilson.

In other articles, Dan Morrill writes of Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission's successful efforts for historic preservation in a community which has not traditionally had a strong historic image; and George Gerstle describes a low-cost method of dealing with the effects of strip development through roadway access management. Daniel Freedman outlines Durham, North Carolina's low-cost housing development involving owner-builder efforts. There, under the coordination of Neighborhood Housing Services, owners will build eight new townhouses and rehabilitate a historic apartment building.

Don't miss our regular features: Book Reviews and In The Works. And, as always, we encourage your submission of letters and articles.

Co-Editors: Jane Hegenbarth, Susan Jones

Graphics Editor: Ted Olin Harrison

Staff: Karen Allenstein, Bill Barlow, Noreen Beiro, Jackie Dingfelder, Kathleen Leyden, Sam McDonald, Dick Paik, Claudia Shambaugh

Front Cover: Ted Olin Harrison

Editorial Advisory Board Members
Michael Stegman, David Godschalk
William Rohe, Harvey Goldstein
Scott Bollens, Noreen Beiro, Ken Robertson

Index and "The Process in Practice" contributed by Jane Hegenbarth.

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Looking Forward From Ten Years Back

A decade of carolina planning

It seems impossible that ten years have passed since several second-year students in the Department of City and Regional Planning (DCRP) at the University of North Carolina first discussed the concept of a student planning publication. One year later, in May 1975, the first issue of carolina planning was published.

Because I was among those associated with that first issue, it is particularly gratifying to see that carolina planning not only survived the decade, but flourished. The discussion below attempts to describe carolina planning's evolution and its significance for Carolina planners.

A Year of Development

As with most new publications, carolina planning was designed to fill a perceived void -- a publication that would emphasize planning policy over planning theory, reach planners as well as "non-planners", and encourage student contributions.

Three objectives were set forth:

1. Provide a forum for the discussion of planning problems, issues, and techniques related to the practice of planning in North Carolina

2. Enhance the awareness of public officials regarding planning issues in North Carolina and throughout the country

3. Provide a means of information exchange between DCRP and other governmental and academic institutions in the state and nation

As noted in that first issue, "(this) culminates an intensive year of work by a number of people." The year between the journal's conceptualization and its reality was marked by efforts to fund the publication, clarify its purpose and its audience, design a format, and solicit articles for a then non-existent publication!

Several ingredients made carolina planning possible in that year:

- Student efforts. Jim Miller, John Carroll, and Lee Corum were instrumental in the development of the publication. Their efforts greatly simplified my job as editor. Student members of the Editorial Board, Jim Forester, Wanda Lewis and Chuck Roe, also made valuable contributions to the first issue.

- Faculty support. George Hemmens, then chairman of DCRP, actively encouraged the production of carolina planning. Other

Nancy Grden-Ellson, the first carolina planning editor, is Vice President for Research at the Citizens and Southern National Bank of South Carolina in Columbia, South Carolina.

New East Building at the University of North Carolina, home of carolina planning

faculty members, particularly David Godschalk, Gorman Gilbert and Jon Howes, shared their energy and creativity in the development of the journal.

- Money. As with any new venture, the lack of "start-up capital" was our most serious obstacle. After extensive "door-knocking", however, we were fortunate to receive a grant from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation of Winston-Salem. This generous appropriation allowed carolina planning to publish semi-annual issues for two years until subscription revenues could be generated. The John Parker Trust Fund and DCRP also contributed financial support for staff and publication costs.

By the efforts of these individuals and interests, carolina planning was off the ground.

During the Decade

In 1975, our attention was concentrated on the first issue, and little thought was given to the style or content of future work. Yet despite student turnover in the Department every two years, publication of carolina planning has continued thanks to many other DCRP students who have devoted their time and effort over the decade.

And that time and effort are clearly reflected in the pages of carolina planning. The format has been enhanced; advertising space, book reviews, Carolina Forum, Letters to the Editor, resource directories, and "In the Works" are a few of the notable changes. The pool of journal contributors has increased; writers include current and former DCRP students, planning professionals, and managers and staff in private sector employ. Furthermore, the circulation has increased; carolina planning now has 700 subscribers throughout the nation.

Perhaps the most important role of the publication is to provide a forum for the discussion of planning topics. A review of carolina planning articles over the years parallels the evolution of professional roles and concerns. For example:

- The legitimacy of planning (1976), the specialization in planning (1979)
- Environmental planning (1975), economic development (1978)
- Federal issues (1977), neighborhood issues (1980)
- Urban development (1977), rural development (1982)

The most significant contrast between topics is evident when issues from 1975 and 1982 are compared. It is doubtful that an entire issue of carolina planning would have been devoted to "public/private ventures" in 1975, as it was in 1982 (much less with a picture of the New York Stock Exchange page on the cover!), or that environmental planning and state land use laws would dominate an entire issue today.

And the Future?

I can only hope that carolina planning will continue its evolution and pattern of success in the years ahead. Many people have contributed to the carolina planning effort, and I am pleased to have been a part of its beginning.

In The Works

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING FOR A MULTI-COUNTY REGION

The Triangle J Council of Governments is the regional planning agency which serves the six counties surrounding the Research Triangle Park of North Carolina. Since 1974, the Council has had a standing committee on land use. In 1982, the Land Use Committee was empowered to design a comprehensive plan for the undeveloped areas between Durham and Raleigh -- including the Research Triangle Park.

To elicit public input, the committee planned a series of public forums. The series was named "Horizons UNlimited." The first forum was held in March, 1983. It was attended by 250 people representing a broad cross-section of the population -- environmentalists, developers, state and local elected officials and staff, and other special interests. Participants were assigned to discussion groups, each with a "facilitator" and a reporter. The groups were asked to identify the primary issues confronting the region.

The council's staff drafted a work program from the various issue statements. A twelve month regional program was developed and adopted at the second Horizons UNlimited conference in April, 1983. Although most elements of the work program were assigned to the Council of Governments, there were some specific responsibilities appropriated to the local governments.

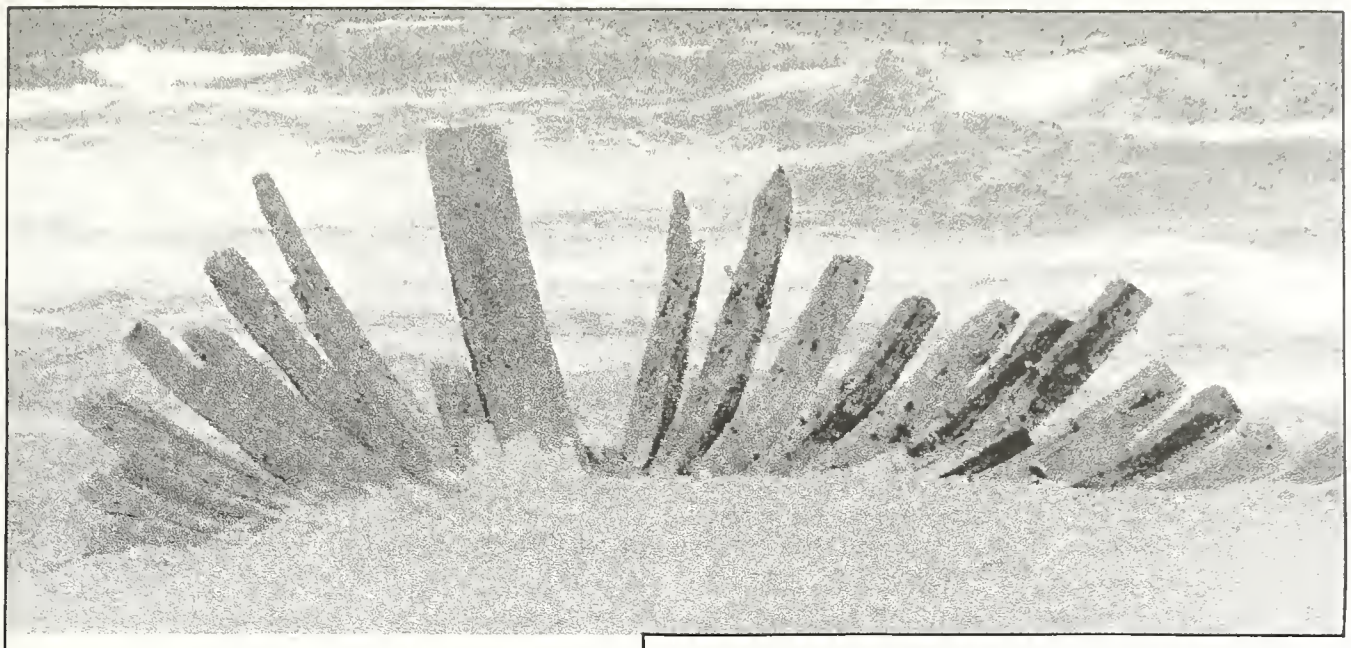
Concern for the poor quality of development around the Research Park inspired a planning design described as a "Ring District" proposal. This development plan was presented at the third Horizons UNlimited conference in October 1983. Under the proposal, an overlay zoning district with a one mile radius would be drawn around the park boundaries. Development standards within the park and the "ring" were suggested to be equivalent. Due to the former's protective development standards, the "ring lands" would incur a significant increase in regulation.

Independent of the Land Use Committee's action, the Durham County Board of Commissioners amended their zoning ordinance with the addition of a Major Transportation Corridor District (an overlay zone along Interstate Highway 40) and changes in the Highway Commercial District. These three actions, the Ring District, the Major Transportation Corridor and the revised Highway Commercial District, became a single issue in the minds of developers, small business people and property owners in the vicinity of the Park. The issue became heated, new pressure groups formed and rumors flew!

To sort out rumor from fact, the Triangle J Council of Governments formed an ad hoc committee called The Study Group for the Research Triangle Park Environs to derive a more satisfactory alternative. The Study Group is comprised of 30 people, including representatives of property owners' associations in the park, firms within the park, developers, engineers,

landscape architects and city and county elected officials. The group functions as a subcomittee of the Land Use Committee. It is chaired by Rebecca Heron, a member of the Durham County Board of Commissioners and a delegate to the Triangle J Council of Governments. The council provides staff support.

Beginning in late January, 1984, the Study Group met throughout February, March and early April. The first meetings were devoted to small-group discussion of the perceived issues and problems. From these discussions, the staff distilled a list of 22 concerns. A questionnaire was prepared and each member of the Study Group was asked to identify the 5 most pressing issues or problems. When the results were tallied,



One of many shipwreck reminders on Hatteras Island, North Carolina Outer Banks

three major themes were identified: the need for a comprehensive land use plan for the Research Triangle Park environs; the need for a water and sewer plan; and the need to amend the Durham County Zoning Ordinance.

The next phase of the Study Group's work consisted of issue-oriented discussions. The members voluntarily joined groups focusing on one of the three issues stated above. Each group was asked to list the actions which could be taken to solve the short and long-range problems associated with the various issues.

The staff drafted reports detailing each discussions group's recommendations. An edited composite report was drafted and mailed to every member of the Study Group for his or her review and comment. When ratified, and after endorsement by the Triangle J Council of Governments' Board of Delegates, the report will be distributed to the local governments.

Regardless of the outcome, the land use process has produced a number of important benefits. It has brought a number of people in contact with the Council of Governments, who had never before entered the forum of regional decison-making. For the council, the experience dramatized the importance and contribution of public participation in the region's land use decisions and policies.

For more information, contact: Ray Green, Director of Planning, Triangle J Council of Government, 100 Park Drive, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27709. (919) 549-0551.

CARRYING CAPACITY STUDIES FOR NORTH CAROLINA'S OUTER BANKS

In the Spring of 1983, the Currituck County Board of Commissioners contracted thirteen graduate students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Department of City and Regional Planning to study the carrying capacity of Currituck's Outer Banks. This study measured the extent to which existing natural and man-made systems could absorb new structural development, hurricane impacts, road expansions, new wastewater treatment and water supply demands. The study is intended to serve as a framework for Currituck County's growth management strategy.

Dare County, North Carolina is undertaking a similar contract with a new group of graduate planning students. These students will study the carrying capacity of Hatteras Island, a region well known for its recent and rapid growth. This study will incorporate additional factors which pertain largely to man-made systems. These factors include the institutional character of the community, its aesthetics, and recreation potential.

The institutional analysis will evaluate the capacity of existing and potential public services in the county. Fire and police protection, health, and education agencies will receive particular attention. Each agency is being measured relative to its perceived maximum service level, given the available resources. The government's capacity to develop growth management techniques is also being explored. Incorporating Hatteras Island's villages or implementing new zoning legislation are examples of possible public management changes in the region's land use process.

Continued on page 39

Portrait Of A County Planner

Wake County Planning Director John Scott, recipient of the North Carolina American Planning Association 1984 Outstanding Professional Achievement Award, retired on March 30, 1984. The following interview was granted in February.

Late winter sunlight streams through the windows of John Scott's office and illuminates an enormous collection of memorabilia. Studies, maps, correspondence and volumes rest on shelves, bulge from filing cabinets, or hang on the courthouse walls.

The tall gentleman rises to greet me, his stern face breaking into a smile, his penetrating blue eyes aglow with youthful vigor. I am here to interview the Wake County Planning Director and to say good-bye to a retiring friend. Sunlight shimmers through his silver-white hair, as in a baritone southern drawl, John Scott describes his planning career.

The retiring planning director is a delightful mixture of southern gentility and intellectual prowess. Born in Mississippi and raised in Alabama, he spent World War II overseas as a Marine before returning to the South for college at the age of twenty-five. He received his B.S. from Auburn University and his M.A. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In the late fifties, Scott moved to Raleigh, where as chief planning analyst for the original staff of the North Carolina Division of Community Planning, he embarked upon a lifetime career in local land use planning. Two years later, Scott went to work for the Research Triangle Park Regional Planning Commission where he provided technical assistance to Wake County for twelve years.

Scott recalls, "The Regional Planning Commission was created because some people were aware of the fact that the Research Triangle

"MY PRIORITIES WERE TO...PERSUADE THEM TO GOVERN BY LAW...RATHER THAN BY THE WHIMS OF INDIVIDUALS."

Park had enormous potential, but that its success would depend in a large part upon the physical, social and economic environment in the immediate three-county region. It was recognized that we might very well turn into a burgeoning metropolitan area, and of course, that has come to pass."

By 1972, Wake County had grown enough to prompt the County Commissioners to establish a planning department with John Scott as director. Scott candidly observes, "I must say that I think the Commissioners did it pretty much as a token response to what they recognized as the desire of a segment of the population; and to that extent, the Planning Department was in the nature of a window dressing. They could then say, 'See, we have a planning department. Stop fussing about planning.'"

It may have been window dressing to the County Commissioners, but to Scott it was a serious undertaking. A man of strong personal principles, he quickly established a reputation for honest tenacity. He retains that reputation today: "I don't think my personal priorities have changed very much. When I went to work for the county back in 1960, my priorities were to try to help county officials understand the planning process, to learn how to use it, to learn to respect it, and to be serious about it; and to try to persuade them to govern by law

Laura Webb Margeson, a Wake County Planner from 1980 to 1982, is a free-lance writer in Raleigh, North Carolina.

insofar as land use regulations were concerned, rather than practice government by the whims of individuals. My objectives were to help produce a workable and acceptable comprehensive plan."

Fayetteville Street Mall in downtown Raleigh

John Scott never strayed from his original objectives. In 1981, his department proposed a detailed plan for county land use. However, his plan was rejected in favor of a more lenient, general plan which has been described as a "vague document with few teeth" (Raleigh News and Observer, February 6, 1984 editorial). While the adopted plan is neither comprehensive nor restrictive, it does provide a general guideline for county growth, something that Scott has been advocating for over two decades.

Wake County's Land Use History

In his tenure with Wake County, John Scott has witnessed many changes in land use which he perceives as "basically the same as we may observe in most other metropolitan counties in the United States." Suburbanization began in the early sixties with what Scott calls "Phase One." At the beginning of this phase, downtown Raleigh was still a thriving shopping center. Gradual development of suburban shopping malls and construction of the city's beltline changed the character of the downtown area from retail trade to heavy commercial.

"Phase Two began in the late sixties with exurban sprawl -- the shotgun pattern of growth, people trying to flee even from the suburbs and into the hinterlands in an effort to find elbowroom, or affordable housing, or a place for a mobile home." Not surprisingly, this phase was characterized by a decrease in farming activities.

How did county government respond to these changes? "Changes occurred more in policy than in practice. Back in the early sixties there was no planning, per se, in Wake County. The only comprehension of planning that the Commissioners had was that planning was the same thing as zoning."

Zoning of the county began in 1960 and (with the exception of rezoning cases) was completed in 1976, often over what Scott refers to as the "yowls and howls of protests" of citizens. The first controls were imposed in the Kit Creek area of the county, near the Research Triangle Park, by "extremely reluctant" County Commissioners who were "politically convinced" by park and state officials "that the Research Triangle Park was really going to be extraordinary and that they should have, therefore, some planning." In Scott's eyes no real planning occurred. "They didn't give any consideration to how that area might develop without public water supplies, no sewer systems, Triassic Basin soils [generally unsuitable for septic tank use] and all that."

"It was a very simple zoning map. Everything was zoned as it was -- if there was a store there it was zoned General Business; if there was a factory, it was zoned Industrial. Everything else was zoned Residential 20 [20,000 feet square per unit] because that was the minimum lot size required by the Health Department for the installation of a well and septic tank."

Using a text which Scott describes as "pretty much a copy of the old Durham County ordinance," the Commissioners gradually zoned the rest of the county. There was "strong citizen

"BACK IN THE EARLY SIXTIES THE COMMISSIONERS HAD [THE IDEA] THAT PLANNING WAS THE SAME THING AS ZONING."

opposition" reflecting what Scott calls the "territorial imperative -- a strong, almost fanatical belief that a person should be able to do with his property whatever he pleases."

Says Scott, "No matter how we tried to explain the process they'd always answer, 'In other words, this is just something you're going to cram down our throats,' or 'This is communistic,' or 'This is creeping socialism' (although I don't think they had any idea what socialism is, or how ownership of agents of production by the State has much to do with land use)."

There were exceptions to the public's generally negative reaction to zoning. For example, the Falls Basin was zoned "with some persuasion that it was a good thing to do because, even then, the Falls Lake was a gleam in the community's eyes." In addition, "a very small area was zoned around Macedonia because the citizens there requested it. They were seeing the effects of suburbanization and wanted some 'protection.'"

Scott adds, "All of this was done without any comprehensive plan. The outlook was 'We will adapt to change of circumstances by reaction to zoning petitions.' The goals and objectives were poorly stated then; they're poorly stated now."

During his tenure, Scott has witnessed "significant changes" in public attitudes. However, "there's still a hard core of that kind of [territorial imperative] belief; in fact one of our County Commissioners still clings to it strongly. But it's not nearly as strong as it was. Many who protested violently at that time [mid-seventies] have come around and said, 'Now that it's in effect, we can see that it's a pretty good thing.'" He smiles and adds, "Of course, everybody complains about having to get a permit to do something."

A notable change in citizen input occurred in the early seventies with the emergence of citizen action groups. Scott observes that many of those groups were supportive of planning efforts because "it appeared to them logical that a growing metropolitan area should do some planning."

Highlights of a Planning Career

What does John Scott see as his major accomplishments as Wake County's planning director? "It was an accomplishment to build up a staff of eleven people over a period of about five years; to even survive as a department. It took eleven and one-half years, really, to get a foot in the door and to become accepted as a bona fide county government department."

Rural Wake County

Although he refuses to take personal credit for the accomplishments of his department, Scott admits that applying "relentless pressure" the Planning Department has helped improve the county's planning procedures. "We now have a Board of Adjustment, for example, that has a rather good understanding of what its powers and duties are, and I don't think members are nearly as arbitrary as they used to be. Somewhat of the same thing can be said about the Planning Board. Back in the early sixties, no one would believe what he or she heard at some of the Planning Board meetings."

During Scott's tenure, the composition of the Planning Board was changed from a seven-member, "strictly pro-development" board to a ten-member board "with more diversification among the members." Admits Scott, "Maybe I had something to do with that. I know I suggested it."

"WE NOW HAVE A BOARD OF ADJUSTMENT THAT HAS A RATHER GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT ITS POWERS AND DUTIES ARE."

John Scott is justifiably proud of his department. "We have provided an awful lot of non-zoning services that the public is not generally aware of, that I think have strengthened county government in many ways."

Under Scott's leadership, the Planning Department has produced a diverse array of projects, including a feasibility study for creating a foreign trade zone adjacent to the Raleigh-Durham Airport, a detailed grouping of county soils according to their suitability for urban uses, a street-naming project to eliminate duplicate street names throughout the county, and a county-wide orthophotographic mapping project.

As a result of such projects and because of the diversity of its staff, the Planning Department frequently serves as a public information bureau: dispensing information about county soils, statistics, land use history and public facilities; and providing maps and zoning ordinances to interested citizens and officials.

During his tenure with Wake County, John Scott has introduced county officials and the public to a multitude of innovative planning concepts. For example, the county's Airport and Highway Districts were developed from his proposals. The use of Standard Industrial Classification Manual codes in some of the county's zoning regulations was another of Scott's ideas.

Some of Scott's suggestions, such as performance zoning, have not been well-received. However, through Scott's efforts, county officials and the general public have been educated about the potential for innovative planning, and such knowledge may lead to adoption of less traditional approaches in the future.

How does Scott feel about leaving the Wake County Planning Department to an unknown successor? "I do feel I think a perfectly natural, deep sense of proprietorship about this department, and a little jealousy and a little pride. However, I have some sort of fuzzy theory that a 'changing of the guard' will frequently act as a catalyst and crystalize ideas or projects that the preceding planning director could not. Part of it is that when a new planning director comes on board, he automatically gets everyone's attention."

"I HAVE TO SIT QUIETLY AND SAY NOTHING WHEN I THINK THAT GRAVE MISTAKES ARE BEING MADE."

Frustrations and Conflicts

Scott's job hasn't always been easy, but he believes that every profession has its frustrations. "I don't want to sound like I have a special crying towel or that I am having some sort of professional temper tantrum. I think all planning directors share pretty much the same set of problems and opportunities. [However], it seems to me that our society believes that the least appropriate place for serious planning is in local government. In my opinion, the fundamental problems with planning in local government are:

1. Planning is something of a mystery
2. There's little agreement about what it is or how it's supposed to work
3. It's fuzzily regarded as a product instead of a process
4. Elected officials are reluctant to commit themselves to long-term plans

"Planning seems to be a respectable and necessary activity in almost everyplace except local government, particularly at the county level. Things have come a long way in twenty years. Municipal and large metropolitan planning departments have sprung up like crazy all over the state. But in some instances those departments represent more form than substance."

"County Commissioners seem to have a difficult time realizing that in a county that's growing this fast, the rural areas are becoming less and less rural, more and more urban; and that the functions of county governmnet are being forced to change in response to metropolitan pressures. There is some foot-dragging in that respect."

Scott's biggest personal frustration is what he calls the "muzzle" or "gag". Says Scott, "There is no forum in which I may debate the issues with the Planning Board or the citizens or the County Commissioners. I have to sit quietly and say nothing when I think that grave mistakes are being made. I've been told informally, although I can't produce a memorandum that says so, that the rule is, 'Thou shalt not debate the issues.' One wonders, then, why I am on the staff."

"It's excrutiatingly frustrating to have to work under conditions where the rule is 'The planning director may not enter into fair debate,' and by fair debate I mean a gentlemanly or ladylike expression of opinions, views, or results of research. I think that's ridiculous. Why should the people of Wake County, through their tax monies, pay to have a planning department, but then say, 'Your knowledge, experiences, studies, and research are not worth being heard'? And that is the main reason I am retiring two years early!"

Visions of the Future

Scott predicts, "There will be no really vast improvement in the planning process throughout North Carolina until the General Assembly is willing to see to it that there is. I think much of the enabling legislation needs to be thoroughly reviewed and overhauled."

First on Scott's list of needed overhauls is a clear definition of the comprehensive plan. "It doesn't have to be a cram - it - down - your-throat mandate, but it should be legislation that says something like, 'A comprehensive plan shall consist minimally of the following studies and documents and resolutions.'"

In addition, Scott would like to see improvements in legislation for extraterritorial jurisdictions (ETJs). For example, he thinks that the one/two/three mile ETJ delineation is "much too arbitrary and capricious" and should be "restructured to make it clear that the ETJ is a planning area."

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Sharing The Costs Of History

A Cooperative Approach To Historic Preservation

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission is the historic preservation agency for the City Council of Charlotte and the Board of Commissioners of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. The commission is empowered to recommend the designation of buildings, structures, sites, and objects as historic property. Such designation, enacted under the police power of the local governing board which exercises zoning control over the subject property, places historic landmarks under land use regulations which protect the property from insensitive alterations and from inadvertent demolition. Moreover, the commission has the power to secure the fee simple or lesser interest (such as easements or options), and can dispose of the same properties through lease or sale with protective covenants included to ensure their preservation.

During its ten-year history, the commission has acquired considerable knowledge and expertise in how a historic preservation agency must function to maximize its effectiveness at the local level. Recent developments, especially the diminution of federal funding and the enactment of substantial preservation tax incentives in the Economic Recovery Tax Act, suggest that local government will have to assume an even greater responsibility for safeguarding the historic components of the built and natural environments. This paper will describe the practical lessons which the commission has learned in its ten years of existence, in the hope and expectation that this will assist local historic landmark or properties commissions throughout the United States.

" ...LOCAL GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO ASSUME AN EVEN GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR SAFEGUARDING THE HISTORIC COMPONENTS OF THE BUILT AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT."

The legal consequences in North Carolina of having buildings, structures, sites, and objects declared historic property are substantial. First, the owner must secure a Certificate of Appropriateness from the commission before he can alter or remove the property. Second, he must provide 180 day's notice of his intention to demolish the property. During this period, local government can move to acquire the property by exercising the power of eminent domain. Third, the owner may apply for an automatic deferral of fifty percent of the ad valorem taxes on the property. The justification for this so-called "tax break" arises from the fact that the owners of many historic structures have been forced by high property assessments to sell or destroy these landmarks because they cannot put the property to the "highest and best use." Fourth, and finally, a marker is placed upon the property indicating that the building, structure, site, or object is historic property.

Charlotte neighborhood in the early 1900's

Since 1973, the commission has secured the designation of approximately eighty historic properties in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Initially, the Commission concentrated its efforts upon ante-bellum edifices, principally those which were already listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Increasingly, however, it has endeavored to afford protection for a more representative cross-section of the cultural resources of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Included in this list of local historic landmarks are the ruins of two water-powered grist mills, a textile mill worker's cottage, streetcar waiting stations, a fire station, and until it was demolished, North Carolina's first steel-framed skyscraper, the Independence Building.

On balance, the commission has been successful in winning the support of the Charlotte City Council and the Board of Commissioners of Mecklenburg County. Indeed, in only three instances has the commission failed to obtain

Dr. Dan L. Morrill is Director of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission and a Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

approval for a recommended historic designation. This good fortune has been especially noteworthy because it occurred in a community which has not traditionally had a strong historic image, such as one would encounter in Charleston, S.C., or Savannah, Ga., for example. Charlotte-Mecklenburg is a prototypical New South town. It is replete with urban boosterism, suburban sprawl, and aggressive developers who derive their images and inspiration from the future, not the past.

Several factors have contributed to the commission's record of attainment. Local preservationists benefited from the Bicentennial, which produced an ephemeral wave of nostalgia, and from the oil embargo and surging energy prices in the mid-1970's, which brought about a temporary abatement in the flight to the suburbs and gave rise to greater real estate activity in older residential districts. More significant were the decisions of local lending institutions to join with the the City of Charlotte in creating a low interest loan program for the revitalization of Fourth Ward, a bedraggled inner city neighborhood. Other low interest loan programs subsequently appeared in the First Ward, another blighted uptown district, and in Plaza-Midwood, an early streetcar suburb being refurbished by the Neighborhood Housing Service. But the commission deserves no small amount of credit for the success of its operations.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission has recognized that it must adhere to the highest standards of professionalism. The commission must determine that each prospective property possesses special significance in terms of history, architecture, and/or cultural importance; and that the property retains integrity of design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and/or association. The commission prepares extensive survey and research reports on each property which it recommends for historic designation. A fundamental component of these reports is an essay, based upon meticulous archival research, which documents the associative and architectural history of the prospective historic properties. An architectural historian also writes a description of the structure and takes photographs of the exterior and interior. This visual record is an indispensable reference point when the commission processes requests for the issue of Certificates of Appropriateness. Old photographs of the structure are also invaluable, both in determining the nature and extent of changes which have occurred over the years, and again, in stimulating interest in the property.

In preparing its recommendations, the commission has found that there is no substitute for precise historical information. Conversely, nothing can do greater harm nor undermine the credibility of a historic landmarks agency more quickly than putting out erroneous or misleading data. Historic preservationists must remember that they are primarily historians, not urban designers, not architects, not neighborhood activists, not even planners. Historic preservation must be based upon a thorough understanding and appreciation of local history. Also, complete and accurate information concerning prospective historic properties provides local preservationists with a distinct advantage over those constituencies that oppose or have little interest in safeguarding the heritage of the community.

One's adversaries cannot dismiss historical events and personalities as being matters of opinion. History has tremendous evocative powers, particularly in terms of giving rise to compelling stories and images that can strengthen effective marketing techniques. For example, the commission was able to use accurate and

Textile mill in Charlotte, 1915

complete information about the past to convince the owner of a heavy moving company to purchase and restore a dilapidated Queen Anne style house by telling him that the structure was built by Charlotte's first heavy mover.

Another manifestation of the commission's commitment to professionalism has been the attention which it has given to conducting inventories of the built or man-made environment in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. In 1975, a reconnaissance inventory was performed. It endeavored to identify, photograph, and assess the architectural significance of all local structures erected before 1900. The commission recognized the essential inappropriateness of using cutoff dates, but the politics of the funding process dictated the exclusion of twentieth-century properties at the outset. The reconnaissance inventory established a data collection and storage system which can accommodate properties from all periods of the past. Embracing approximately 1,800 properties, the inventory was the first systematic overview of older buildings in the area. The commission deposited the information in the offices of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission, which in turn placed the data on their base zoning maps.

"...THE POLITICS OF THE FUNDING PROCESS DICTATED THE EXCLUSION OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY PROPERTIES AT THE OUTSET."

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission believes that inventories are essential. In addition to strengthening its professional image, these studies allow the commission to obtain the comprehensive information to make prudent and defensible recommendations for historic designations to the local governing boards. In 1981 the commission received a grant from the North Carolina Division of Archives and History and hired an architectural historian to begin an in-depth analysis of the built environment in several Charlotte neighborhoods. Fortunately, the City of Charlotte agreed to provide full funding for the continuation of the project in 1983.

The consent of owners is not required for local historic designation in North Carolina. However, the commission recognizes that the designation process is essentially political and that, consequently, the commission must be practical in administering its program. Specifically, the commission tries to gain the consent of the owners if at all possible. It meets with the owners to explain the consequences of designation, answers questions, and generally assuages any apprehensions that might arise. To do otherwise would be fruitless, unfair, and thoroughly unprofessional. The majority of citizens in Charlotte-Mecklenburg hold the rights of private property owners in the highest regard. Indeed, if the commission encounters uncompromising opposition from the owners, it continues processing prospective historic properties only if they are highly endangered.

Business district in the 1920's in Charlotte, North Carolina

Probably the greatest challenge which the commission faced since its creation in 1973 centered around the destruction of the Independence Building in September, 1981. Erected in 1908-09, North Carolina's first steel-framed skyscraper stood at the intersection of Trade and Tryon Streets in uptown Charlotte. The commission invested considerable time and energy in attempting to secure the preservation of this old building, including recommending and securing its designation as a historic property, advocating and achieving its listing in the National Register of Historic Places, and obtaining a Consultant Services Grant from the National Trust to determine an economically feasible adaptive use. Unfortunately, a prominent local developer opted to demolish the building and applied for a Certificate of Appropriateness to do so.

The commission exercised its power to restrain the owner by delaying the demolition for 180 days. During the interim, local preservationists had to decide what course of action they would pursue. Considerable debate ensued with hopes of bringing an urban designer to Charlotte who could demonstrate that the retention of the structure would enhance the project. The commission met with the developer and with his anchor tenant and tried to dissuade them. When these efforts failed, the commission contemplated the possibility of recommending that the City Council acquire the Independence Build-

ing through the power of eminent domain, but everyone quickly agreed that this option would never gain the support of a majority of the members of City Council.

In the end, the commission determined that a maximum effort to save the Independence would probably be futile and would so alienate the local business community as to render the commission ineffectual. Some preservationists might regard this strategy as timid, if not cowardly. But by accepting the essential futility of making a maximum effort to save the structure, the commission underscored its professionalism and practical mindedness -- essential attributes for success in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

The professional responsibilities of the commission do not end with the designation of historic property. As a steward of the historic built environment in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, the commission is empowered to exercise design review over proposed material alterations of historic landmarks by issuing or denying Certificates of Appropriateness. Again, state law requires the establishment and distribution of just and equitable guidelines for the purposes of determining the appropriateness of such activities but allows each community to decide the exact content of these regulations. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission uses "The Secretary of The Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings".

Two considerations were uppermost in persuading the commission to adopt the Secretary of the Interior's guidelines and regulations. First, these standards emanate from the most prestigious historic preservation agency in the United States. Second, and more importantly, the federal government uses these guidelines and regulations when certifying the restoration of

"...THE COMMISSION RECOGNIZES THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR MUST BE THE PRINCIPAL FORCE BEHIND HISTORIC PRESERVATION..."

properties for the investment tax incentives in the recently-enacted Economic Recovery Tax Act. Consequently, the commission believes that its use of the Secretary of the Interior's guidelines and regulations encourages private investment in the restoration and rehabilitation of older structures.

The commission works closely with owners to develop economically feasible adaptive uses for historic properties in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The commission has received two Consultant Services Grants from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. These grants have resulted in the saving of two important buildings, an elegant early twentieth-century mansion (the James B. Duke House or White Oaks), which was converted into apartments, and an old black church (the Little Rock A.M.E. Zion Church), which will house the Afro-American Cultural Center, a local cultural organization. Increasingly, the commission recognizes that the private sector must be the principal force behind historic preservation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

"...AS A CATALYST FOR THE ADAPTIVE REUSE OF THE HISTORIC BUILT ENVIRONMENT THE CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG HISTORIC PROPERTIES COMMISSION HAS SUBSTANTIALLY STRENGTHENED ITS OVERALL STANDING IN THE COMMUNITY."

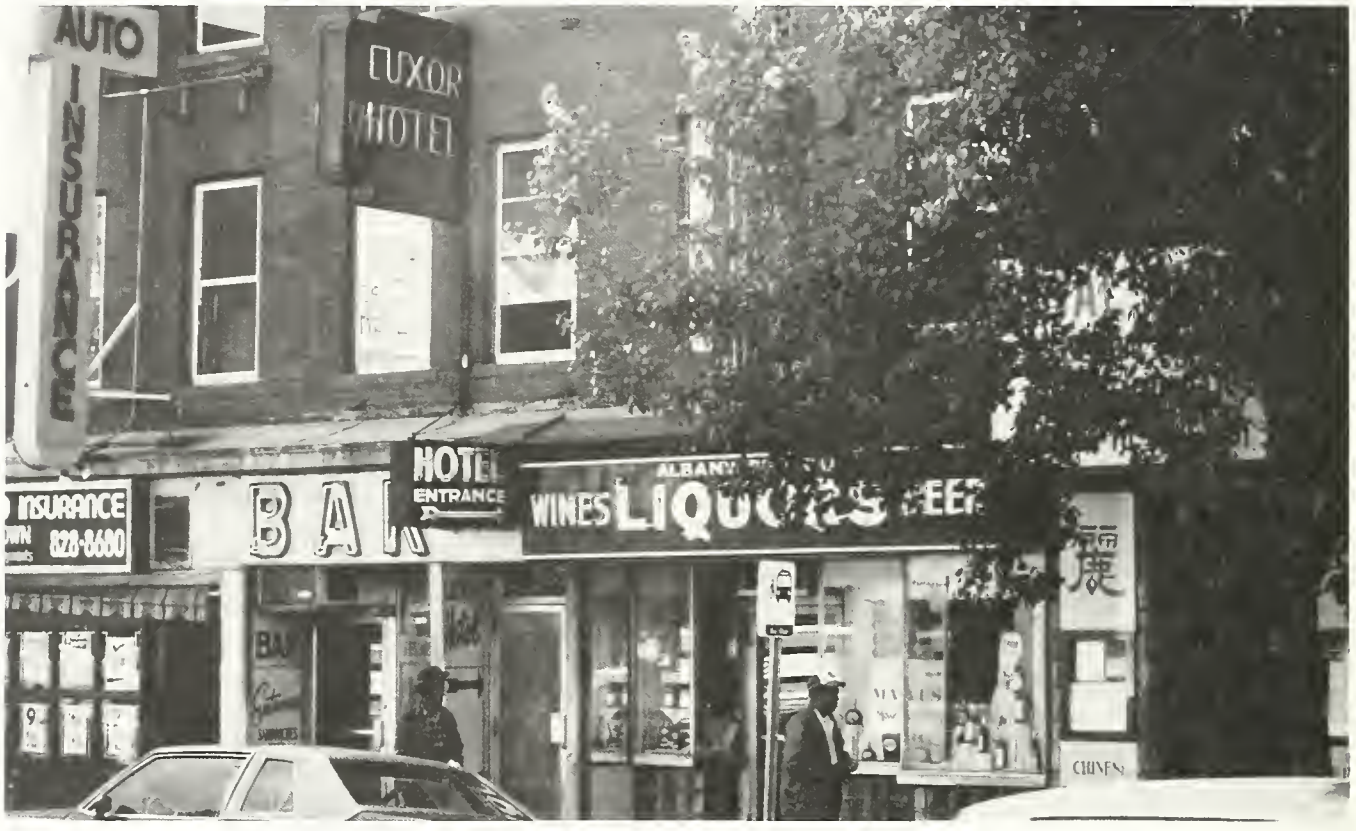
The commission offers a variety of services to encourage private investment in historic properties. In February, 1981, it sponsored a seminar to explain the new investment tax incentives and to describe and illustrate how developers in other communities are taking advantage of them. The substantial attendance included planners, attorneys, accountants, architects, and realtors. The commission has also distributed a series of publications to assist private investors. These have covered such topics as explanations of easements, tax incentives, the consequences of historic designation (both local and federal), local historical research methods and grants and other economic inducements that are available for historic pres-ervation. Indeed, the commission has become the clearinghouse for information to assist the involvement of the private sector in historic preservation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

By emphasizing its role as a catalyst for the adaptive reuse of the historic built environment, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission has substantially strengthened its overall standing in the community. Unlike many landmark commissions, it works cooperatively with businessmen and is not seen primarily as a regulatory agency. The benefits from assuming this posture have been enormous, especially in Charlotte-Mecklenburg where developers and bankers assume great power and control.

On balance, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission has been successful in advancing the cause of historic preservation. It has also convinced the traditional power elites that it is a sensible agency that understands and appreciates the aspirations of other constituencies in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Furthermore, the commission has administered its operations in a highly professional manner, both in terms of processing buildings, structures, sites, or objects, and in terms of conducting its educational programs. Happily, the commission has moved off the cultural page and on to the business page of the newspapers in this community.

Entrusting Urban Health To Corporate Medics

New Brunswick Moves Beyond Intensive Care



At one time, the City of New Brunswick, New Jersey was a trade and transportation center. Although those two functions have been all but obliterated in the last 50 years, New Brunswick has retained the moniker of the Hub City.

The heyday of New Brunswick has long passed and many have said that it is gone forever. However, the future of New Brunswick is not as bleak as would have been thought as recently as five years ago. A partnership of private investment and public cooperation called New Brunswick Tomorrow was formed in the city in 1976. This agency and its development arm, DevCo, have single-handedly and dramatically changed the character of New Brunswick.

This article will discuss the ways in which this transformation from the 'old' New Brunswick to the 'new' New Brunswick has taken place. It is not the object of this paper to discredit the importance of public/private partnership in economic redevelopment. Partnerships of this kind are essential to renew the health and vitality of aging cities especially in the Northeast. It is important, however, for developers, planners, city officials, and the public to ask questions concerning who will benefit, who will lose, who is involved in the decision-making process, what goals are and how well those goals match the needs of the community as a whole.

The Hub City: A Short History

During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, New Brunswick served as a grain and trade center for central New Jersey. Accessibility to many modes of transportation caused firms to locate and then prosper in the city. Johnson and Johnson, Squibb and others came to New Brunswick in the nineteenth century. Smaller plants also opened in the city drawing on the large pool of immigrant labor which concentrated there in the early twentieth century. Workers, mostly Hungarian and Polish, were involved in the production of textiles, clothing and heavy machinery up until the late fifties, when businesses pulled out favor of suburban locations.

Nancy Randall is a recent graduate of the Department of City and Regional Planning at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The tide began to turn for New Brunswick's health after the second World War. Federal policies designed to create housing for returning veterans and to provide jobs in the postwar economy coincided with increased funding for highways, homes, and industry. The great move to the suburbs had begun. Like most cities, New Brunswick found many of its younger residents moving out to new communities springing up on formerly agricultural lands which surrounded the city on three sides. By the middle sixties, New Brunswick was operating a skeleton employment matrix and attempting to deal with the growing percentage of sub-standard housing and slum conditions. White, middle-class residents who could afford to move out had done so. The blue collar neighborhoods that were vacated by whites were filled in by poor black and Hispanic people.

New Brunswick was desperate for a program to improve its economic condition and to alleviate its slum housing conditions. In the early sixties, urban renewal was judged to be the saving grace of the decaying inner city. New Brunswick applied for and received large amounts of federal money to clear slums. Seven city blocks of residential properties located downtown were leveled in 1958.

By the early 1970's seven of the city's large department stores and five-sixths of its small businesses had closed. It is estimated that between 1970 and 1974, 5000 white collar jobs were lost due to retail closings and the continuing decline in the city's industrial and commercial activity. Then, as now, the annual income of 45 percent of city residents was below the $12,000 mark. New Brunswick contains 8 percent of the population of Middlesex County, yet is home to 25 percent of county residents on public assistance. About two-thirds of the housing stock is owned by absentee landlords, many of whom are former residents now located in surrounding suburbs.

The typology of decline is certainly not unique in the Northeast. However, New Brunswick had two things that other cities didn't have: Johnson and Johnson, Inc. and Rutgers University.

The University was founded on the banks of the Raritan in 1766. During the post-war period, as the city began to decline and minority populations began to grow, Rutgers had less and less to do with the city, both economically and culturally.

Johnson and Johnson was New Brunswick's true "ace in the hole" in the early seventies. It is generally agreed that without the "brute force" exerted by Johnson and Johnson, the city would have continued in its moribund state indefinitely. In the 100 years since the Johnson brothers located in the area, the company has become the largest health care products conglomerate in the world, with assets estimated at 38 billion dollars. In the early seventies, when New Brunswick was considered to be at the bottom of its decline, Johnson and Johnson threatened to withdraw its plans for a new world headquarters in the city unless the City would agree to enter into a partnership to renew the dying CBD.

The Redevelopment Gameplan

The anticipated costs of a Johnson and Johnson departure, combined with the potential benefits of a 50 million dollar construction project, prompted the city to fast action. The demands of Johnson and Johnson and the objectives of city government revitalization efforts, were twofold. First, the construction of the extension to Route 18, a major traffic artery and strip development area which terminated in New Brunswick, had to be accomplished before Johnson and Johnson would permanently locate its world headquarters in New Brunswick. The second objective at this early stage involved a commitment by both parties to revitalize the CBD and attract businesses downtown in order to improve the overall tax base of the city.

"IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT WITHOUT THE 'BRUTE FORCE' EXERTED BY JOHNSON AND JOHNSON, THE CITY WOULD HAVE CONTINUED IN ITS MORIBUND STATE INDEFINITELY."

The New Jersey Department of Transportation had planned to extend Route 18 through New Brunswick and across the Raritan into the suburbs of Piscataway and Edison as early as 1962. However, lawsuits brought by environmental groups and protests initiated by Rutgers students and faculty had held up any construction for more than ten years. Environmental groups were concerned with two things: highway construction would effectively eliminate any access to the river front and that the EIS was haphazardly prepared. It did not adequately study alternatives, especially "no action" policies.

In the five years since the inception of the downtown, Johnson and Johnson and the City have pursued the revitalization project objective single-mindedly. The result has been almost 200 million dollars in downtown investment with a projected 100 million to come. As reporter Rick DelVecchio of the New Brunswick Home New so aptly states:

> "the haphazardly laid-out, economically battered, politically fractured city by the Raritan River has been pushed away for a planned, profitable, resolute 'new' New Brunswick."

However, the relationship between a healthy economic climate and a healthy social environment must be considered. In the case of New Brunswick, it is clear that bigger business downtown may not translate into improvements in housing, city services and social services in residential neighborhoods. Many city residents are still waiting for the benefits of a project that was begun six years ago.

The Hyatt Hotel looms above the traditional neighborhood retail establishments of downtown New Brunswick.

Accomplishing Goals: NBT and Devco

The partnership plan which was adopted by the city and J&J was developed by the American City Corporation in 1974. ACC is the consulting spin-off of the Rouse Corporation. The ACC report entitled Trends and Issues in Revitalization: The Case for New Brunswick called for the development of a two-pronged private, non-profit, tax-exempt corporation called New Brunswick Tomorrow (NBT). NBT was formed in 1975 as the official planning agency for the city redevelopment project. Because of the positive ring of the ACC report, which stated that the urban economic problems of New Brunswick were "manageable", J&J and fifteen to twenty other businesses contributed one million dollars to organize a permanent NBT. The goal of NBT was to make plans for a large and impressive downtown revitalization project which would have a positive psychological and economic payoff in a very short time.

The second prong of the redevelopment corporation is the New Brunswick Development Corporation (DevCo). It was formed in 1976 as the development and finance arm of NBT. Also non-profit, DevCo has been acquiring downtown property since 1977. Holdings are currently estimated to be worth over 17 million dollars. DevCo is the third largest taxpayer in the city. Salaries, office rent, and operating costs are paid by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. To date, these grants are valued at 3 million dollars. DevCo operates as a land bank for NBT, acquiring prime development properties at market rates and holding them for sale to private developers, thus discouraging spiralling land prices often brought on by private speculation.

Government Involvement in Redevelopment

Public sector activities are geared toward realization of program goals outlined by J&J. Mayor John Lynch, Democratic leader of New Brunswick for over ten years, has on occasion slowed or redirected the J&J/NBT/DevCo steamroller. Many critics hold city government responsible for the fact that community development and local neighborhood assistance was not integrated into planning at an earlier stage. Many of the

programs were added at the last minute to appease citizen outcry. City government has primarily been concerned with allowing NBT as much room as it needs for redevelopment.

The strategy adopted by the development arm of NBT-DevCo, has been characterized as "obstinate, hard-nosed and never-look-back." DevCo sits quite comfortably in an economic and political environment which is pro-development. DevCo continues to win although it operates in a national economic environment which has discouraged development because of high interest rates, speculation, and reduced profits. A clue as to why this attitude is workable in New Brunswick is found in a comment made by NBT president Paul

Abdalla. When asked why his organization plans to build an office twice the size recommended by American City Corporation consultants, Abdalla said, "We found out very early in the game that any marketing results that we got weren't useful to us because they related to the old New Brunswick." Disregard of the problems of old New Brunswick is feasible when the "only game in town" is one of the largest corporations in the world and that corporation is squarely behind development efforts no matter what the cost.

The centerpiece of the "new" New Brunswick has been physical redevelopment to encourage economic reinvestment. Private sector involvement combined with large federal subsidies have begun essential financial leveraging which will ensure economic security for the city in the future. Critics of the redevelopment agenda

"THEY'RE DOING WELL IN TERMS OF THEIR OWN AGENDA, BUT THE QUESTION IS: IS THEIR AGENDA THE BEST FOR THE CITY?

have objected to the lack of interest in neighborhood level community and economic development which is not specifically related to buildings, traffic and infrastructure improvements. Robert Beauregard, a professor of Urban Planning at Rutgers University, credits DevCo and NBT for keeping to their agenda but he believes that the strategy adopted has failed in one essential area. Beauregard feels that the program was imposed on the city without enough consideration of the existing architectural scale or of community development, stating that "they're doing well in terms of their own agenda, but the question is: Is their agenda the best for the city?" He added that a more appropriate agenda may have been "tailored to what New Brunswick is, rather than what they would like it to be."

The extent of trickle-down benefits is questionable. New Brunswick poses a particularly serious problem because of the diverse socio-economic strata represented in the city. Jobs and businesses created in response to New Brunswick redevelopment have a very specific target market. The J&J headquarters will pull upwards of 2000 white collar workers into the city every day. J&J secretaries and managers will need places to have lunch, stores to browse through and services as diverse as drycleaning, banking, shoe repair and photocopying. It is evident even now, before the opening of the headquarters building, that local businessmen are responding to expected demand. In the last two years, three restaurants have opened downtown. They are trendy and sophisticated -- perfect places for business lunches. A few stores have begun to upgrade the type of merchandise they offer, anticipating the needs of a higher income client.

Immediate benefits are available for another sector of the city's population, i.e. the students of Rutgers. Downtown redevelopment has lured the student into town. As recently as four years ago, it was not safe to be downtown after dark even if there were places to go. Now, two of the newly-opened restaurants enjoy healthy student traffic in their bars. While the choice of stores and services is not yet competitive with the plethora of malls ringing campus, more and more students venture into town for clothing, records and gifts. The construction of a downtown pedestrian mall and increased police patrols have created a safe and pleasant atmosphere in which students and professionals can spend time and money.

The difference between the revitalized downtown district and the residential neighborhoods within two blocks of George Street is, however, astonishing. Black and Hispanic resid-

New office development has been carefully linked with street and infrastructure improvements throughout New Brunswick.

ents, most of whom are on some kind of public assistance, live in dilapidated frame houses or public housing projects within sight of the sleek steel and glass-structures of the new New Brunswick. In these neighborhoods, few of the economic benefits of revitalization have trickled down, rippled out or filtered in. Buildings owned by absentee landlords continue to deteriorate. Essential services like heat and hot water are delivered sporadically and many families spend the winter in hotel rooms paid for by welfare agencies of the city. Small businesses like grocery stores continue to close because owners cannot afford escalating rents and property taxes. Crime and juvenile delinquency rates have not improved greatly in these blighted areas. NBT has never made any great promises to neighborhood groups and church organizations, stating that nothing can be done at the community level until the city's economic house is in order.

"WHEN I WAS LITTLE, I USED TO BUY MY SCHOOL SHOES IN A STORE DOWNTOWN. NOT ONLY IS THE STORE NOT THERE ANYMORE, BUT NEITHER IS THE STREET."

Increased activity in the housing market has penetrated some of the marginal neighborhoods in the city. However, the new buyers are not poor residents who have taken advantage of federally insured mortgages and homesteading assistance. Outside investors are speculating in existing residential housing, buying now while prices are relatively low and waiting for the boom. DevCo has also purchased dilapidated residential properties close to downtown. As soon as the right private developer comes along, these properties will probably be cleared for office and/or upscale residential development.

Opposing Voices

Ironically, the first opposition to the NBT plan was raised by American City Corporation which offered an alternative development agenda keyed to neighborhood revitalization and aid to the poor who dominate the population of New Brunswick. In this plan, ACC proposed that DevCo support rehabilitation of housing as well as the downtown. The firm estimated a need for 5000 new housing units and advised that DevCo could partially subsidize loans to middle income homeowners considered to be of too high a risk for conventional mortgages or government sponsored mortgage programs.

Opposition to the agenda of NBT has been individual and sporadic since then. The loudest protests have come from student and faculty members of the University community. Dr. Beauregard has expressed grave doubts as to the "quality of fit" between plans for the "new" New Brunswick and the continuing problems of the "old" New Brunswick. Anton Nelessen, another member of the Rutgers planning faculty who was displaced from his home by the development he opposes, is concerned with the scale of development and with the almost complete disinterest of DevCo decision makers in historic preservation.

David J. Harris, Jr., a prominent spokesperson for the black community, has expressed discontent over the process aspects of redevelopment. Harris believes that the voice of his constituency has been deliberately ignored by public and private decision makers. He thinks that dissent brings on reevaluation of goals and objectives, and that no such reevaluation is desired by those in power. Harris has been an advocate of community development through neighborhood assistance from the very beginning of the redevelopment process.

Lastly, a lifelong resident and recent Rutgers alumna told the author that, "when I was little, I used to buy my school shoes in a store downtown. Not only is the store not there anymore but neither is the street. It's depressing because when I come back in ten years for my college reunion, I probably won't be able to find the damn school."

Summary and Conclusions

When the New Brunswick Tomorrow project was started, residents of the City of New Brunswick were hopeful that the revitalization of downtown would lead to the retention of a major corporation and rebuilding of the local economy. To a great degree, these objectives have been accomplished. Solid financial support from the private sector and the federal and local governments have produced a virtually limitless fund which will be used in the future to leverage all kinds of business and public activity.

With the completion of most of the projects first outlined in the redevelopment plan, NBT and the city are approaching a crossroads. The options now available are many, and the money to accomplish any one of them is abundant. The economic revitalization that has taken place has created a solid and dependable base which will assist further development. What the city must now decide is where it will turn its energies next. Up until this time, emphasis has been placed on creating a barrier-free path for large scale commercial activity. It is now time for NBT to turn to the development of a clean, safe and economically healthy environment for the disadvantaged majority of the city population.

Comprehensive Access Management
An Alternative To Highway Construction

Until recently, strip development has been viewed primarily as a land use issue. Such development does, however, have a strong relationship to the transportation system. Methods for dealing with the effects of strip development on roadways have rarely been handled in a consistent manner. Access management is a method for controlling the impacts of strip development on the roadway system which effectively balances the access needs of the roadway.

Without an effective access management program, demand for road improvement usually increases. Increased traffic volume, moreover, improves business exposure as well as demand for roadway improvements and widenings. This cycle is indicated in Figure 1.

It is not always increased traffic volumes that cause the demand for roadway improvement and widening. An increase in access points to a roadway causes a rise in the number of potential conflict points on a road. Conflict points are locations at which accidents may occur. Furthermore, at every access point, traffic on the road may have to slow down to allow vehicles to enter or exit the road. The increase in potential accident locations and the reduction in efficiency of the system causes a demand for increased roadway capacity. Figure 2 illustrates an often used management strategy -- the reduction of conflict points when left turns are eliminated.

Traditionally, the demand for increased roadway capacity has been met by adding lanes to an existing road or constructing new roads. An effective access management program can significantly reduce or postpone the fiscal, environmental, and social costs often associated with uch roadway modifications. Access management can eliminate the need for new right of ways and

METHODS FOR DEALING WITH THE EFFECTS OF STRIP DEVELOPMENT ON ROADWAYS HAVE RARELY BEEN HANDLED IN A CONSISTENT MANNER

the resultant social displacement of some traditional roadway modifications. An efficient roadway system can also reduce the air pollution that is associated with the arterial roadways in typical strip development. Unfortunately, roadway efficiency is inversely related to the degree of access to a road.

Different roads serve different access needs. Controlled access freeways have operating efficiency as their highest priority. Residential streets have access as their clear priority. The mixed needs of collectors and arterial roadways make them the most difficult elements in an access management program (Figure 3). This article deals primarily with these types of roadways.

George Gerstle is a Master's candidate in the Department of City and Regional Planning at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

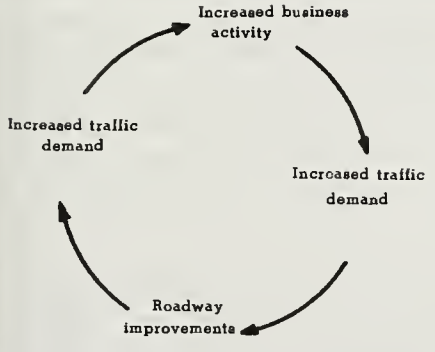


Figure 1 BUSINESS GROWTH - ECONOMIC CYCLE

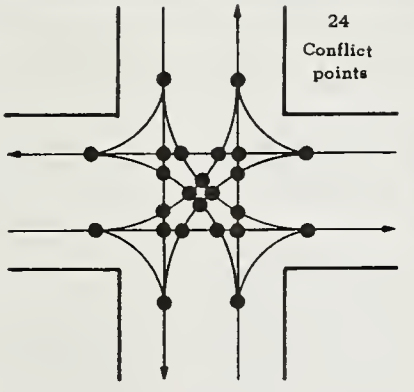


Figure 2a CONFLICT POINTS AT A TYPICAL FOUR-WAY INTERSECTION

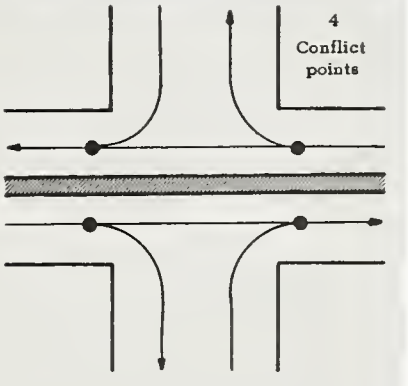


Figure 2b DRIVEWAY INTERSECTION WITH RESTRICTED ACCESS

The Optimal System

The best possible system balances efficiency and safety against access requirements of the adjoining properties. Cooperative, legislative, enforcement, and technical aspects are considered in creating a balanced access management program.

It is critical that the access management program be coordinated within the larger planning process by a well-defined policy adopted by all agencies. Often the access control policies

"A SUCCESSFUL ACCESS MANAGEMENT PROGRAM COORDINATES THE LOCAL LAND USE PLAN WITH THE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES FOR THE ADJOINING ROADS."

of states, counties, and local jurisdictions are in conflict. Most major arterials are constructed with federal or state funds, with the state transportation agency retaining jurisdiction over the highway.

Highway officials concern themselves primarily with the transportation efficiency of the roads; property owners feel that ownership implies unlimited access; and local officials feel a responsibility for both economic development and an effective transportation system. Zoning for strip development along a limited access roadway spells disaster for an access management program. These competing interests often work at cross purposes to the detriment of all concerned. A successful access management program coordinates the local land use plan with the operational objectives for the adjoining roads.

Legal Issues

Many legal questions exist concerning the power of the state to control access of properties adjoining a state highway. A basic legal concept to address is that the owner of the property abutting a state highway is entitled to reasonable access. The critical issue is the definition of reasonable, which is ultimately left to the courts. Past experience elicits some useful principles:

- The number and location of access points to any parcel may be controlled by the state
- Access may be denied if the property owner has reasonable access through the local street network
- If an access point is relocated the property owner must pay for any interior site modifications resulting from the relocation
- If an access point is dangerous, it may be revoked without compensation

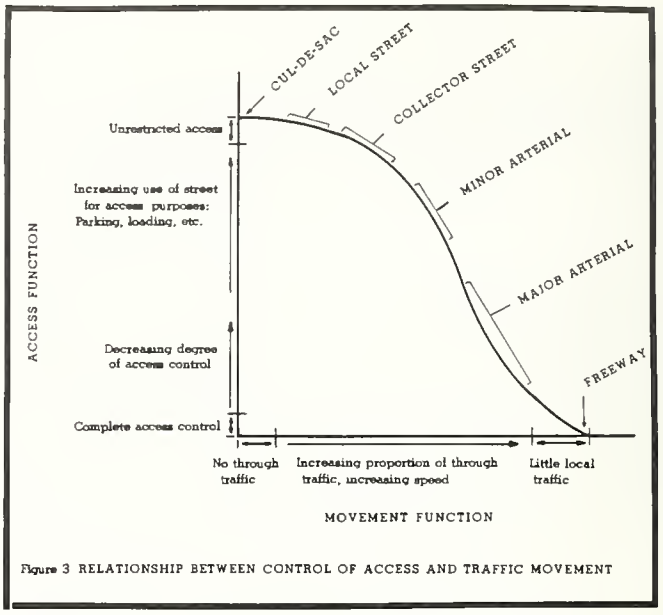


Figure 3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONTROL OF ACCESS AND TRAFFIC MOVEMENT

- The permitted access need not be direct
- If an existing highway is redesignated as limited access, the owner of the abutting property is entitled to compensation
- An abutting property owner is not entitled to access to a new limited access highway
- Access provided to a property must be suitable to the type and quantity of traffic normally expected as a result of such development

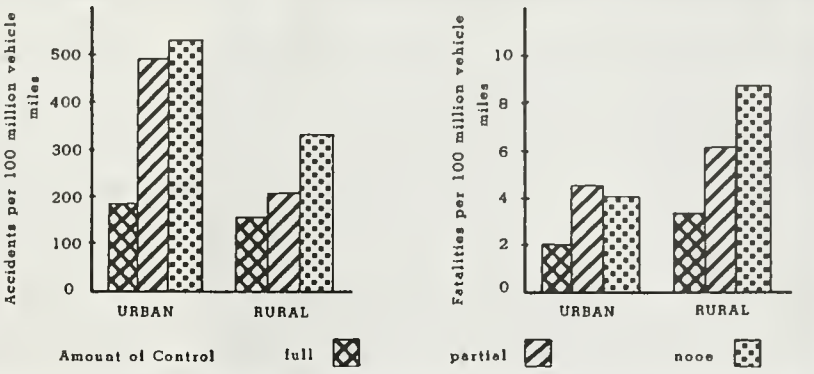
Legislative aspects in creating an access management program involve establishing goals, defining the mechanism for accomplishing those goals, the legal basis for the program, and ensuring uniform application of the code. An effective access code must be flexible enough to

"PRACTICAL ENFORCEMENT IS OF PRIMARY CONCERN IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE ACCESS CODE."

be applied in all the necessary situations, in order to eliminate all arguments of arbitrariness. To accomplish these ends, the code elements must be based on engineering and design criteria as well as upon the designated function of the roadway. The recently-adopted access code used in the State of Colorado will be considered as an example of such a code.

The State of Colorado Highway Access Code contains four sections addressing each aspect of access management. The first section summarizes the intent and contents of the law. Section Two involves the administration of the code and explains the process for variances and appeals. The third section classifies each section of the state highway system into one of five categories

Figure 4
EFFECT OF CONTROL OF ACCESS
ON ACCIDENTS AND FATALITIES
IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS



in accordance with the functional characteristics of the road, as well as the design standards for each access category. Section Four of the Colorado code details the design standards and specifications for each access type classified in Section Three.

Restricting access is an appropriate use of governmental power. The majority of access control techniques can be enforced through police powers. Eminent domain may be used when the acquisition of private property rights is necessary to implement an effective management technique. This usually requires some compensation to property owners by the state. If enforcement of an access code proves unwieldy, it will in all probability be the death knell of the program. Practical enforcement is of primary concern in the composition of the access code.

Elements of Access Management

The four basic elements of access management are briefly discussed below.

1. Driveway Design Standards. These have an impact on roadway efficiency and safety. Driveways should be located as far as possible from intersections. This prevents conflicts from vehicles attempting to break into a queue at a traffic signal. The width and turning radius of an access point determines the entrance and exit speed of vehicles using that access. An inadequately designed access will disrupt the flow of traffic on the road. A smoother flow of traffic is created by limiting the number and spacing of driveways. This allows for more efficient timing of signals and fewer deceleration points on the roadway.

2. Median Construction. Left turns cause the majority of accidents on arterial roadways. Use of medians can reduce these accidents by controlling, channeling, and eliminating the left turns. Traffic then flows more efficiently. Use of raised medians is often controversial in that it may significantly affect sales for certain types of businesses.

3. Frontage/Service Roads. This is the most expensive and time-consuming access control measure. Most effective on high speed roadways, this technique allows for the complete separation of local access points from the roadway. It significantly increases flexibility in determining the best access points, thereby increasing traffic efficiency and safety.

4. Miscellaneous. Several other tactics fall under the access management umbrella. These include installation of signals at access points, designation of one-way roads, removal of parking from the roadway, and adequate internal design of adjoining developments.

Summary

An access management program can be a low cost method for maintaining and improving the safety and efficiency of the roadway system. Figure 4 illustrates the effect of various degrees of access control on accident and fatality rates.

The attractiveness of such a program is that it entails no massive capital outlays. It may be implemented as maintenance modifications are required on existing roads, or as new facilities are planned and designed. Without a doubt, implementation of such a plan is very political. Controversy usually results when the status quo of property rights is threatened. However, with proper social, engineering, and economic analysis, as well as thorough public participation, comprehensive access management can be used as an effective and economical step in the process of transportation planning.

This paper draws heavily from Access Management for Streets and Highways, a manual published by the U.S. Department of Transportation in 1982. The United States Government does not endorse products nor manufacturers. Trademarks or manufacturer's names appear herein only because they are considered essential to the object of this document.

Trading Interests
The Power of Negotiated Investment Strategy

I would like to describe planning as a process of mediation, and to suggest that this view yields some very interesting insights into some of the dilemmas that have plagued the planning field. I will use my involvement in a Negotiated Investment Strategy process (i.e an intergovernmental mediation effort) in Columbus, Ohio to illustrate.

Negotiated Investment Strategy

The idea of the Negotiated Investment Strategy (NIS) should be credited to the Kettering Foundation. For years, the "problem" of intergovernmental relations was thought as a problem of synchronization and coordination. The Kettering Foundation had an idea that beneath the apparent problem of coordination is the more serious problem of competing agendas. The reason intergovernmental relations are so hard to work out is not because they are not synchronized, but that they are competitive. The intent of an NIS process is to enable representatives from the public and private sectors to address the complex problems and often competing interests that characterize intergovernmental disputes. The foundation was interested in whether or not these competing interests and agendas could be resolved through mediation.

With the help of the Ford Foundation and the Carter Administration, the Kettering Foundation chose Columbus, St. Paul, and Gary as study sites. For each of these cities, teams representing the local, state and federal governments were asked to develop coordinated public/private investment strategies.

Implementation of the agreements reached between 1978 and 1980 is still continuing. In each city, teams developed a working partnership that acknowledged the interests of each group while devising an investment strategy for the city as a whole. The focus of these negotiations was not merely on questions of physical development. Policies regarding human services, crime and safety, and jobs were high on the agendas of all three levels of government. In a sense, the planning problems typical of any city are the same ones addressed by an NIS, namely, "how does one decide where one wants to end up and how does one harmonize the interests of the community in getting there?" Instead of relying on a traditional comprehensive planning process, sets of stakeholding teams negotiated with each other to develop projects and program specific guidelines. In the case of Columbus, planners acted as the mediators helping to produce an informal consensus.

For elected officials, (particularly in times of cutbacks), the planning process is, at worst, a splitting of the burden of cutbacks. For the business community, an attractive aspect of the NIS process is the prospect of being able to leverage community support for development projects. When the time comes for hearings and permits, projects should sail through. In all three cities, the NIS process generated a useful way of looking ahead that seemed to be in the best interests of all three levels of government as well as the public and private sectors.

The NIS process focuses on problems rather than goals. It favors a short to mid-term time horizon. The idea is to arrive at solutions that maximize joint gains. While most plans are basically compromises across competing objectives, the NIS approach seeks to generate consensus through a process of trading and negotiations.

Lawrence E. Susskind is Acting Director for the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School and a Professor of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He chaired the MIT Department from 1977 to 1982. Susskind's research, teaching, and professional practice focus on conflict resolution in the public sector.

An important outcome is that a consensual process leaves all the parties in a much better position to work together in the future. The mediating process helps foster trust, since no agreement is reached unless all parties voluntarily lend support. Use of a common or joint data base makes it less likely that the discrediting of all technical analysis will occur. This reduces the tendency for politically motivated arguments to provide the sole basis for settling policy differences. Another important outcome can be the leveraging of public funds with private investment funds, an increasingly important consideration in a period of federal and state cutbacks.

"THE CHALLENGE IS TO TRANSFORM DIFFUSE INTERESTS INTO REPRESENTABLE INTERESTS."

In sum, the NIS process brings together teams representing the three levels of government, with a mediator, to negotiate collaborative approaches to promoting development, and resolving policy differences. The assistance of a non-partisan mediator is crucial.

The NIS Process

An NIS process can also be used at the state and local levels to bring together government, business, or citizen interests. It is typically composed of five elements:

1. an impartial mediator who guides the entire process with negotiating teams which represent the interests of stakeholding parties
2. informal exchange of information before formal proposals are written
3. face to face negotiations
4. a written agreement that contains mutual commitments made by each of the teams
5. public review and adoption of the agreement, with monitoring of subsequent performance by each party.

The process takes place in three interactive phases: pre-negotiation, negotiation, and post-negotiation.

A. Pre-Negotiation

In this phase, the first step is the identification of the issues, and if possible the identification of those parties with some stake in these issues. Often, comprehensive problems have no targeted interest group. For example, infrastructure deterioration is a problem in which no group has a major stake. The challenge is to transform diffuse interests into representable interests.

The second step to this phase is the identification of appropriate spokespersons for these interests. This can be a problem. An organization like the Sierra Club, for example, will explain that its charter does not permit the President of the local Sierra Club to commit to anything without a referendum of the local members. As long as there is some way of generating a commitment when it is necessary, it is valuable to include groups with identifiable interests.

The next step is related to team building. Under the guise of citizen participation, what often occurs is that a large group of people simply show up and attempt to proceed with no further organization. This might be an effective way of generating a large list of gripes, but it is an inefficient and perhaps inequitable way of proceeding with the involved tasks associated with a negotiation process. The objective should be to create the smallest number of teams that can represent the various stakeholding interests, while enabling the stakeholders to feel legitimately represented.

Another important task at this stage is the establishment of ground rules. Before teams come to the bargaining table they want to know what the procedures are going to be. For instance:

- What would happen if one became dissatisfied in the middle of the process?
- Do participants have to listen to other team members, or can they break away and form new teams in the middle of the process?
- When and where will the meetings take place?
- What resources will be provided to the teams to develop their own tactical capabilities?
- Will participants have the right to sue if they are dissatisfied with the results?

All of these questions have to be resolved before any mediated negotiation can proceed, in much the same way that the protocols for international negotiations are developed. A long term interest of our work at the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School is the development of state enabling legislation that would create ground rules for local and state negotiated investment strategy efforts.

An additional consideration in this part of the process is the setting of an agenda. If the agenda is set narrowly, there will be too few issues on the table to allow for creative trades. When dealing with people with competing interests, these differences are resolved through trading; and in this manner, a consensus

"THE INTENT SHOULD BE TO CREATE AND DIVIDE VALUE; TO FIND THINGS TO TRADE AND AGREE ON HOW BEST TO SHARE THE VALUE CREATED."

becomes possible. For instance, If you value something of mine, and it is not so important to me, and you have something that I value highly which is not so important to you, then we can exchange, and create value from our differences. A win-win outcome has been created from what might have looked like a zero-sum situation. If the agenda is too narrow, trading possibilities are constrained; it might not be possible to "create value" from the differences that exist among the various stakeholders. The challenge is to set a manageable, but sufficiently rich agenda. The agenda itself might well be the focus of considerable negotiation during this pre-negotiation phase.

B. Negotiation

A very important part of the negotiation process is joint fact finding. The intention here is to develop a shared data base. This is not a data base developed by the "experts." It entails a process through which all groups work together to specify the types of information necessary. They then address the relevant questions, and compile this data together. The idea is to get away from the typical battle of "my

The Process In Practice

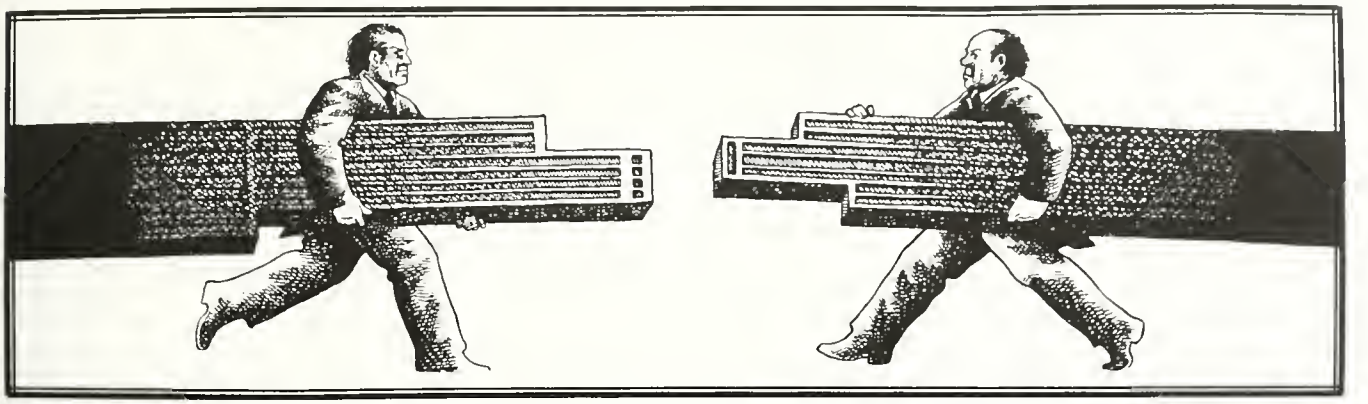
Like many other cities around the nation, Durham, North Carolina, has no organization or structure to guide the funding of non-profit service organizations -- those which provide a broad scope of programs from cultural events to senior citizen programs. As a result, the City and County of Durham, United Way, and other philanthropic agencies each have their own funding criteria, application requirements, and decision process.

Frustrated by the traditional, often unbalanced process of funding non-city non-profit service organizations, Durham City Councilwoman Lanier Fonvielle became interested in pursuing a cooperative approach to allocate funds to these groups. During the winter of 1984, she approached faculty at the Department of City and Regional Planning at U.N.C. for suggestions, shortly after Larry Susskind had introduced Harvard's Negotiated Investment Strategy at a presentation to the department (from which the accompanying article was derived).

Fonvielle, with guidance from David Godschalk, a professor at U.N.C., began soliciting interest from the three main funders of non-city service organizations. The Greater Durham Community Foundation, still in its infancy but eventually to become a major philanthropic funder, was also included. To generate interest and introduce alternatives for coordinating the allocation process of these agencies, the City sponsored an afternoon seminar led by Susskind. The forum, held in April, was open to all interested parties and generated an enthusiastic and curious attendance, including many representatives of the area's numerous community organizations.

Susskind introduced the idea of mediated negotiation, stressing that the format was flexible enough for the actors involved to structure it for their own needs. The seminar then broke up into small group sessions to share relevant concerns. Susskind wrapped up the afternoon by discussing one way that interested actors could structure the funding process by beginning with a collectively gathered data base on community needs.

It is too early to tell if the four involved agencies will commit themselves to a formalized negotiation process. But the agencies have begun a valuable informal dialogue, including a recognition that the funding process could be far better coordinated. The seminar has also heightened appreciation of the difficulties that non-profit service organizations have in acquiring funds. The positive informal dialogue may be the beginning of a formalized shared allocation process some time in the future.



technical expert is better than your technical expert...I can discredit anything you say." This type of battle does nothing but demean the value of technical analysis in the eyes of the public, and can discredit the use of technical analysis in policy making. It is important to make joint fact finding satisfactory for all the teams, since they should use this common data base for the negotiations.

The next item of business in the NIS process is the identification of items to trade. This involves the identification of the major differing interests of the stakeholders. The intent should be to create and divide value; to find things to trade and to agree on how best to share the value created. If there are insufficient differences, it is possible to introduce linkage, a concept Henry Kissinger made famous in international negotiations. One starts connecting issues with each other and trading across issues. If this is not enough to close the gap between the parties, one can talk about the use of compensation or other ways of tying future commitments to specified outcomes.

All of these ideas for creating value require translation of trades or commitments into a single text, agreeable to everyone. In any negotiation, the single worst thing that can happen is for all sides to be working with their own version of the agreement. Ideally, one hopes to achieve a single text as quickly as possible, with all sides trying to improve the text to make it more acceptable.

In one local NIS, in Malden, Massachussetts, there were six major items on the agenda, including education. Each of the three negotiating teams -- business, government, and neighborhood -- was asked to appoint a person interested in education to serve on a drafting team that would develop a single text on education. With technical staff support, the team members went through a joint fact finding process while developing an understanding of the issue, and finally came up with some ideas about what might be done. These ideas were placed in a single text which was brought back to each negotiating team to modify. In a full negotiating session, the mediator attempted to get all the parties to agree on one version of a text summarizing their suggested changes or tentatively formulated agreements.

In order for such a drafting process to work, team members must touch base on a fairly frequent basis with the people they are representing. Otherwise, the credibility of the process and the ability to achieve consensus will be diminished. When a final draft agreement is reached, it should be published in the newspaper in full detail. Public hearings should be held to receive comments from any stakeholders whose views might not have been adequately incorporated in the agreement. After making adjustments, the members of all teams should convene to sign the final agreement. In signing, the representatives are commiting the people they represent to try to implement the agreement.

C. Post-Negotiation

The final agreement requires a set of mechanisms for "re-mediation". It is possible that one of the groups may change its mind, or perhaps the head of one of the groups may be replaced by someone who does not like the agreement. In cases like these, it is necessary to have mechanisms described in the agreement that allow for any of the signing parties to call the mediator back in to re-mediate a point. Some type of monitoring mechanism is needed that designates a subcommittee of the whole to track the implementation process. Milestones can be created, and if the milestones are not met, the whole group should reconvene. The process should also be thoroughly documented, so that newcomers will be able to go back and review the process by which particular parts of agreements were reached.

The Planner's Role in an NIS Process

Mediated negotiation in the public sector is relatively new, with no hard and fast rules for proceeding. Unlike a labor mediator, a planner serving as the mediator in an NIS process assumes an activist role, helping to define the process itself. The planner helps

"...the planner acting as a mediator tries to broker a consensus."

participants search out potential joint gains, caucuses privately with participants, and helps foster open communication concerning the needs and desires of the participants. In addition, through trading, the mediator helps participants, to create alternatives that might not have surfaced otherwise. This is done almost exclusively by asking questions and offering tentative proposals. These proposals are put forth in a way so as not to identify them with the mediator, because if the mediator is perceived as having a favorite option, all sense of non-partisanship is lost. The mediator must not be viewed as partisan.

In addition to assuming an activist role during negotiations, the planner must be ready to help with any future re-mediation that becomes necessary. The planner might also be called back to help review progress at key points.

There are many similarities between the NIS process and the planning process as it has been typically construed. An important difference, though, concerns the planner's role in taking responsibility for building consensus. In effect, the planner acting as a mediator tries to broker a consensus.

The planner as technical analyst lays out and analyzes options, and leaves the fostering of consensus to the politicians. The advocate planner represents those who can least advocate their own interests effectively, becoming partisan to one interest. The planner/mediator, however, acts as an agent of compromise, seeking to maximize joint gains.

The planner as mediator is committed to the process of building consensus. In a sense, this represents a return to planning as a process, and to a planner as someone who helps make this process work. The planner as mediator seeks to ensure that a context exists in which people can exchange and extract commitments from each other, groups can have a sufficient amount of trust in one another, and where sufficient connection to commonly perceived facts is maintained. This is necessary to ensure that whatever is agreed upon actually works, and that relationships will not fall apart once an agreement has been reached.

Finally, the planner acting as a mediator must be involved in education and capacity building. The planner must constantly educate participants about the merits of the process -- reminding people why they are there, and what has been accomplished. The planner must also build the capacity of all individuals to make enforceable commitments. There is no point in getting people to agree on something that will not work. Little is accomplished if a commitment is extracted that cannot possibly be honored. Such an agreement will eventually fall apart, and demean or undermine future efforts to deal with differences through mediation. Because the NIS process involves all interested parties it will have greater success where other plans have fallen before the political process.

This article was derived from a February 1, 1984 presentation to the Department of City and Regional Planning (DCRP) at UNC-Chapel Hill. Susskind's Speech was transcribed by Susan Jones and edited by Gerard McMahon of DCRP.

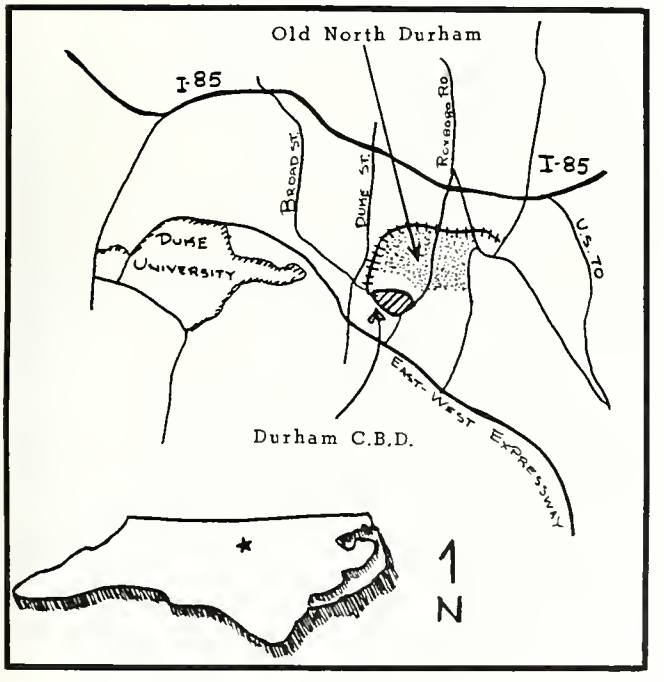
Suggestions for further reading are Susskind and Ozawa's "Mediated Negotiation in the Public Sector: Mediator Accountability and the Public Interest Problem" (American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 27 No. 2, November/December 1983), Fisher and Ury's Getting to Yes (Penguin Books, 1983), and Raiffa's The Art and Science of Negotiation (Harvard University Press, 1982).

Housing for Neighbors
New Opportunities in Durham

In Durham, North Carolina's Old North Durham neighborhood, residents have begun to experiment with a "sweat-equity" form of low-cost housing development. Durham administrators have replaced the term "sweat-equity" with the less descriptive title: "owner-builder". For all practical purposes, the administrative process and housing goals of these self-help programs are equal. The Durham owner-builder program attempts to provide incentives and some direct assistance for rehabilitatiohn of the community's deteriorating housing stock.

Under the proposed program guidelines, owner-builders will develop eight new townhouses and rehabilitate an historic apartment building into condominiums. The rehabilitation project will be the first such Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS) project in the United States. The program's primary service will be to reduce or eliminate down-payments for rehabilitation projects. Homeownership opportunities will be provided for households otherwise excluded from conventional housing finance markets. A secondary goal of the NHS is an improved state of security and stability within the neighborhood as a consequence of the owner-builders' direct attention to property improvement.

In the following analysis, objectives of an NHS and the relationship between an NHS and an owner-builder program will be described.



Durham NHS, A Public-Private Partnership

Durham's NHS, like sister programs in over 200 other communities, involves a public-private partnership which brings together neighborhood interests that are needed to ensure revitalization. Local residents, lenders, governmental officials and businesses are typical participants in the partnership. Technical assistance and funding for most NHS groups comes from the national Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation (NRC). An appointed Board of Directors governs the overall direction of the NHS. The Board maintains committees to provide residents with adequate expertise and resources for the design and implementation of NHS programs. Owner-builder, public relations, and loan committees are examples of special function groups within the NHS hierarchy.

An NHS may help arrest decay in targeted neighborhoods by leveraging public monies with private investment to promote mutually beneficial results. City funding constitutes only about 15 percent of Durham NHS's operating budget, with the remaining funds coming from local business, grants and income projects (such as loan origination fees from state Housing Finance Agency loans.) Matching funds from private organizations have allowed the city a substantial return on its initial investment. In Old North Durham, one dollar of city investment has yielded thirty-five dollars of private investment.

Durham NHS Program Tools

Durham NHS uses a variety of programs to achieve its goals. A revolving loan fund provides low interest loans to allow property acquisition and rehabilitation. Technical assistance for rehabilitation work is also provided. Other activities include a "problem properties" program and the Section 8 moderate rehabilitation program. Both allow acquisition and rehabilitation of substandard properties for creation of homeownership opportunities.

Families in Durham's first round of projects are supervised by professional Durham NHS staff knowledgable in the building trades. Seed

Daniel Freedman is a Master's Candidate in the Department of City and Regional Planning at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Homeowner's labor and NHS's technical assistance will convert the Perry Building (1926) into four 1400 sq. foot condominiums.

money for this round is provided by the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation. It is anticipated that profits and contributions from NRC and members of the NHS partnership will fund subsequent owner-built projects. Durham NHS costs for the program, exclusive of materials and site acquisition fees, are approximately $50,000 per year.

Motivations for Participation

In the Old North Durham neighborhood, the owners' labor, or "sweat equity", may eliminate the need for a cash down payment. Minimal closing costs may be required in some instances. Owner labor will reduce mortgage loans by about 20 percent for the rehabilitation projects and approximately 30 percent for the new construction.

Interest in owner-built housing is in part a response to rapidly escalating housing costs. Soaring interest rates and construction costs have made first-time home purchases extremely difficult. In 1970, assuming that housing expenses were 25 percent of a family's total income, nearly half of all families could have purchased a home. By 1980 less than one third of all families could afford to buy a house even if housing expenses were 30 percent of total income. Increases in family income have not kept pace with increasing costs. Thus, sweat equity provides an innovative mechanism to bridge the growing financial gap.

... THE OWNER-BUILDER IS
SENTENCED TO A YEAR OF HARD LABOR
AND IN RETURN GETS A HOUSE...

The prospects for successful owner-built housing projects have been enhanced by a renewed enthusiasm for "home-made" goods and "traditional" construction methods. Many families, regardless of their background, are interested in gaining skills necessary to build and maintain their homes. Conventional financing is frequently available for owner-built housing when sponsored by an NHS. The only requirement for participants in the Durham owner-builder program is that the individuals or families be eligible for conventional loans without down payment requirements.

Owner-built housing fosters greater NHS involvement in the development and implementation of neighborhood revitalization strategies. This involvement spurs greater resident interest in NHS activities. In fact rehabilitation loan activity has been steadily increasing at the Durham NHS as the owner-builder projects have gained momentum.

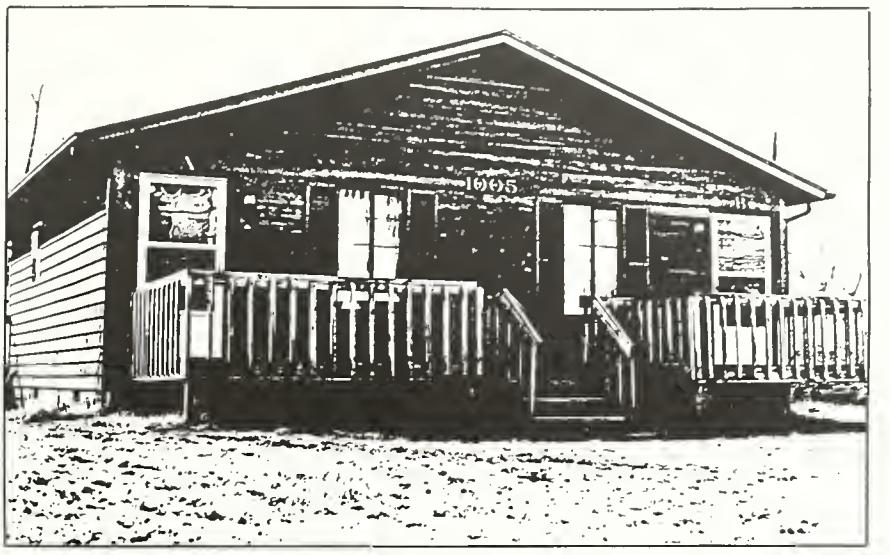
Construction of new homes that will be architecturally compatible with adjacent historic properties will help foster neighborhood revitalization. Recent housing construction, especially many duplexes in Old North Durham, have been inappropriately designed. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has demonstrated an interest in Durham's owner-built housing program as a mechanism for neighborhood revitalization, and has helped provide property acquisition and construction financing for the rehabilitation work in Durham.

Owner-Builder Characteristics

Owner builders are not typical homebuyers; they consider more than price, location, and amenities in their home buying decision. Richard Furr, a vice-president at Central Carolina Bank, states that the owner-builder is "sentenced to a year of hard labor (the time typically required to build a new house) and in return gets a house." Many owner-builders maintain full-time jobs and work on their homes on weekends and in the evening.

Tight construction work schedules dictate labor input from more than one person in each home. Thus, couples or families are preferred, although husband and wife teams working on the same home have created domestic stress. Attracting owner-builders is a difficult enough task without mandating family income or composition. Buyers will, however, need to qualify for conventional financing, i.e. meet Federal National Mortgage Administration (FNMA) require-

ments for loan to debt ratios, (an individual's allowable debt based on his or her income), and expected income of participants is approximately $20,000-25,000. The sweat-equity greatly reduces the down payment requirement and reduces the loan amount financed.



Newer, infill construction in Old North Durham has not always been compatible with existing housing.

Site Selection

A desire to minimize housing costs while ensuring a significant economic and social boost for Old North Durham, influenced the site selection for the two owner-built housing projects. The Perry Building, located on the northwest corner of Geer and Mangum Streets was acquired at less than its assessed value. The adjacent vacant parcel, as well as two parcels with severely dilapidated housing (the townhouse construction site), were also obtained through bargain sales, where a property owner will sell his or her property at less than its fair market value. The Geer and Mangum intersection is a transition area for Old North Durham. Mangum Street is a major one-way artery, and the area immediately to the south of site exhibits signs of advanced decline.

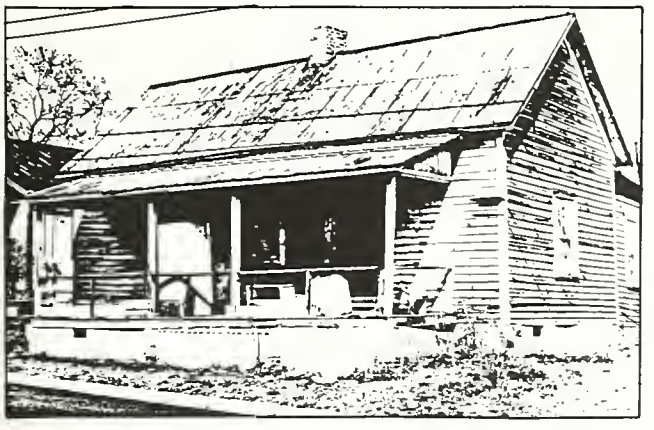
Building Design

NHS management began with the creation of an owner-built housing committee. The committee sought to develop design alternatives for the new townhouses, to program the rehabilitation, and to achieve financial success of the projects.

Delegating building design to the owner-builder committee should help guarantee successful long-term NHS neighborhood revitalization efforts. Original owner-builder committee goals required the committee to identify its roles. For example, selection of the most appropriate designs, specification of basic unit features like floor plans, and review of cost estimates. The committee appointed a group of North Carolina State University students to develop preliminary design proposals.

Among the owner-built housing committee members were an architect, realtor, builder, and preservation technology instructor. Their ideas for the new construction differed. Concerns arose regarding common spaces, homeowners' associations, and floor plans. The rehabilitation also sparked substantial debate. Although design improvements resulted from the committee's involvement, technical issues and questions of extent of rehabilitation or replacement did not lend themselves well to resolution by committee.

COUPLES ARE PREFERRED, ALTHOUGH HUSBAND AND WIFE TEAMS WORKING ON THE SAME HOME HAVE CREATED DOMESTIC STRESS.



One of two substandard rental units that have been removed to permit construction of eight owner-built townhomes.

Two months after the owner-builder committee began its design work, services of an architect were obtained to remedy the inadequate design process. The committee now periodically reviews plans submitted by the architect.

The owner-built housing committee is a unique example of how a not-for-profit organization has designed and facilitated construction of privately-financed housing. The experience Durham NHS gains in current owner-built housing projects will vastly improve the efficiency and effectiveness of subsequent projects.

Marketing the Project

The owner-built housing committee learned some important marketing lessons with the first owner-built housing projects. In December 1983, the committee was split into marketing and design review groups. The Perry Building rehabilitation estimates and designs were completed before a sufficient pool of potential owner-builders had committed themselves because early marketing was not pursued until rehabilitation costs were determined.

The committee learned its lesson and marketing for the new townhouses began even before preliminary designs were complete. The townhouses will have three bedrooms and are therefore best suited for families. The Perry Building, on the other hand. might better suit smaller families, couples, or people interested in fewer home maintenance chores.

National Experiences

Like those in Durham, owner-built projects throughout the country have been tailored to individual community needs. An owner-built new construction program in Hartford, Connecticut will provide rental units in owner-occupied homes. These rentals will provide the community with needed housing and will provide the additional income needed to make homeownership affordable.

Investor owned housing is not always maintained to the highest of standards.

Improving the opportunities for families to become homeowners and achieve visible evidence of a shared sense of community adds significant momentum to the NHS goal of creating a neighborhood with a healthy investment and re-investment environment. Experiences throughout the country have demonstrated that governmental agencies and private companies, as well as the neighborhood, perceive benefits from owner-built homes and are willing to contribute to the program.

In Oakland, California the city provided substantial discounts for NHS purchase of underutilized land. An insurance consortium in Hartford, Connecticut increased its financial involvement in the NHS and has provided monies for acquisition of a playground. State Housing Finance Agencies in Alaska, Connecticut, Colorado, Minnesota, and Missouri are participating in financial arrangements for NHS owner-built programs. NHS groups have found that these programs have greatly increased awareness of other NHS services. In Durham, inquiries about owner-built opportunities have sparked increased interest in weatherization and home rehabilitation loans.

LABOR TYPICALLY COMPRISES 30 PERCENT OR MORE OF THE COST OF A NEW HOME

National experience has shown that owner-built housing is best-suited to areas with high labor costs. Labor typically comprises 30 percent or more of the cost of a new home. Labor-intensive versus technology-intensive designs are promoted with owner-built schemes. The owner builder's labor contribution for new construction should account for 50 percent of the total labor invested. Even in areas where labor costs are modest, owner-built projects are still attractive alternatives.

Conclusions

Owner-built projects are not a panacea for the problems of homeownership. Owners must be willing and able to work with their neighbors and invest long hours on their homes. Personality and schedule conflicts must be accomodated. For many families with little savings, however, owner-built projects offer an opportunity for homeownership in the spirit of the old-fashioned community barn raising. Owner-built housing can also strengthen neighborhood involvement in setting and implementing NHS policies. Durham's experience should provide lessons for those interested in the viability of owner built alternatives in their own communities.

A Process Of Learning
Planning Education At East Carolina University

What was the planning profession like a quarter century ago? For one thing, old timers may recall that a substantial number of planners did not hold planning degrees while those with degrees were mainly graduates of master's level programs. Within the Southeast Chapter of the American Institute of Planners (SEAIP) only Georgia Tech and the University of North Carolina were granting planning degrees at that time. As the demand for planners grew in the late 1950s and 1960s, planning schools were hard pressed to produce enough graduates, and planning agencies sometimes recruited entry-level personnel from disciplines such as architecture, engineering, geography, and political science. These developments set the stage for the establishment of an undergraduate planning curriculum at East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina.

In this article the authors trace the evolution of undergraduate planning education at East Carolina University (ECU) with emphasis on curriculum development.

Early Years of the Program

Dr. Robert E. Cramer was instrumental in the formation of East Carolina University's planning program. In 1956 he taught a new course, Urban Geography, which introduced students to planning issues. The class became involved in data collection and map preparation for Greenville. With visiting planners generating enthusiasm among students, faculty, and community leaders, this course became the catalyst for an embryonic planning program. By 1960, Cramer had developed another course, Urban and Regional Planning, that was one of the first undergraduate planning courses in the SEAIP chapter area.

In 1962 Cramer became Chairman of the Department of Geography and Geology. That fall Richard A. Stephenson, a geographer/geologist with planning experience was hired to develop an undergraduate planning program.

That same fall, planners and educators in North Carolina and adjoining states were consulted regarding the potential for an undergraduate planning curriculum at ECU. Generally, support was received for a curriculum that would supply graduates for sub-professional entry-level planning positions. By spring of 1963 a pre-planning minor of 42 quarter hours was offered to all Geography majors. The 1963-64 East Carolina College Catalogue description read:

> "The pre-planning minor curriculum will give the student preparation for a position with a planning agency at a sub-professional level, and/or adequate preparation for graduate study in planning."

Requirements for the minor included two courses in government, a course in both economics and statistics, four geography courses, site design, and urban and regional planning. By 1964-65 the minor was available to sociology and

political science majors. Professors Cramer, Stephenson, and James Dunigan provided guidance to planning students. The latter two left East Carolina University in 1967 and 1968, respectively.

In the fall of 1968 Wes Hankins joined the ECU faculty to direct the planning program. He held a master's degree in planning and had worked briefly as a community planner. Six new courses were proposed as part of a revised minor in planning, in the following subject areas: urban and regional planning, techniques, urban form, and planning legislation. These six courses comprised the "planning core" of the revised 41 quarter hour minor. Courses in state and local government, statistics, and minorities made up the remaining 16 hours.

Wes Hankins, Associate Professor, and Richard Stephenson, Professor, are faculty members in the Department of Geography and Planning at East Carolina University.

From 1968 to 1970, Hankins involved students in the planning techniques classes in practical applications of classroom knowledge, which proved invaluable to many planning alumni in applying for planning positions.

The Student Planning Association was formed in 1970 to increase the dialogue between students, faculty, and planning practitioners. In addition, the two techniques courses were revised and two new courses were developed.

From a handful of graduates with the pre-planning minor in the mid-1960s, the planning program produced 13 graduates with a planning minor in 1968-69 and 26 graduates in 1971-72. By September 1972, 65 students were enrolled in planning classes.

Development of the B.S. in Planning

The University of North Carolina Board of Governors approved a proposal for a B.S. in Urban and Regional Planning in early 1974, which had been submitted by Cramer and Hankins two years before. The B.A. planning minor remained unchanged.

The 52 quarter hour major leading to the B.S. in Planning included 19 hours of core curriculum in urban and regional planning, techniques, and legislation; 17 hours of cognates in cartography, aerial photography, statistics, state and local government, and minorities; plus 16 hours of restricted electives. Students could develop a specialization within the planning major through the careful selection of these electives. Each planning major also had to complete a minor in one of the following fields: geography, political science, psychology, social welfare, sociology, or parks, recreation, and conservation.

During the years 1975 to 1979, ECU converted to the semester system and graduates with a major in planning increased from 27 in 1975 to 35 in 1979.

At the same time Dr. Ennis Chestang replaced Cramer as Chairman of the Department of Geography. Dr. Richard Stephenson, who had rejoined the ECU faculty in 1971, resumed his involvement with the planning program on a limited basis, and in 1975 developed a new course in coastal area planning.

A second full-time planning faculty member, Alicia Downes, was hired in 1975 and taught at ECU through 1976. In September 1977, Dr. Obi Achunine joined the faculty for a year. Dr. Mulu Wubneh replaced Achunine in September 1979. From 1975 to the present, the full-time faculty has been supplemented with planning practitioners as part-time faculty on a number of occasions.

Revision of the Planning Curriculum

In December 1980 the planning faculty made three major recommendations for the undergraduate planning program: revise the planning major, revise the planning minor, and to work toward the recognition of the undergraduate major by the American Planning Association. The objectives of the revisions were to: (1) offer students more flexibility in the planning major and minor by increasing the number of planning courses; (2) streamline the planning major by developing more clearly defined core, research skill, and cognate components; (3) provide for more choice by increasing the number of minors and offering the alternative of two concentrations in lieu of a minor; (4) make the planning minor available for both B.A. and B.S. degrees; and (5) increase the number of interdisciplinary course offerings. The revisions became effective in September, 1982, and working toward APA recognition is a continuing objective.

The revised B.S. in Urban and Regional Planning requires 20 semester hours of core courses (in urban and regional planning, techniques, theory, and legislation) plus 12 hours of planning electives. In addition, students must take 12 hours of required research skill courses (such as cartography or aerial photography, quantitative geography, site design or remote sensing; and a computer course or an additional quantitative methods course). Finally, each major must complete an additional 24 hours by selecting one of eleven minors or two of thirteen concentrations. Both the minors and concentrations included social science, natural science, and professional areas.

The revised minor consists entirely of planning courses. As a result of the revision, both B.A. and B.S. majors may pursue a planning minor.

Included in the 1980 revisions were six new and seven revised courses. These changes, combined with three new courses in 1982 and 1983, greatly increased the variety of planning courses offered. The additions reflected the diversity of the planning profession: land use and transportation planning studios, site design, environmental, neighborhood and housing planning, and historic preservation. In 1980 the Department of Geography was renamed the Department of Geography and Planning.

Program Evolution

Since 1963 the undergraduate planning curriculum has changed in several important ways. First, as the minor and major have evolved, the planning portion of the coursework has increased substantially. For example, the current major requires twice as many planning courses as its predecessor, and the current minor includes only planning courses. These changes have moved the planning curriculum away from its early subprofessional emphasis. The existing planning major is a professional degree designed to prepare students for entry-level positions. Second, planning majors and minors may now choose from 17 planning courses whereas only two were offered in 1963. Third, in contrast to earlier versions, both the existing minor and major may be used with a larger number of disciplines. While the original major permitted a choice of six minors, students may now select from 11 minors or two of 13 concentrations. Finally, the new major is more rigorous than the 1974 version since it requires additional semester hours, places a heavier emphasis on research skills, and increase the degree requirements from 120 to 126 hours.

"ONE 'SACRED TENET'...IS THAT PLANNING EDUCATION, CORRECTLY DONE, BELONGS MAINLY AT THE GRADUATE LEVEL."

Although changes have occurred, several aspects of the planning curriculum have remained the same. For example, the revised planning major continues to be an interdisciplinary curriculum using 11 minors plus courses from 20 disciplines in the research skill and concentration sections of the major. This interdisciplinary emphasis is reinforced by the development in recent years of two planning courses which are offered on a team-taught basis with faculty from other disciplines. Furthermore, the undergraduate planning curriculum continues to enroll students usually during their junior and senior years. Finally, planning internships continue to be encouraged but not required.

Prospects

Until recently undergraduate planning education has been almost completely overshadowed by emphasis on the traditional graduate education in planning. With the exception of a handful of articles, the planning literature has avoided the subject of the undergraduate degree. Notable exceptions include Michael Brook's 1972 article "On the Utility of the B.U.R.P." (Planning, the ASPO Magazine, September 1972) and Bruce Dotson's 1982 article "Undergraduate Planning Education: Practices, Problems, and Potentials" (in the Winter 1982 issue of Journal of Planning Education and Research). In 1982 the Guide to Undergraduate Education in Urban and Regional Planning, edited by Wes Hankins, Mulu Wubneh, and Robert Reiman was published.

The data contained in the latter publication suggests that undergraduate education may receive greater attention in the future. For example, while the 1969-70 American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) survey of planning schools reported 10 schools offering a bachelors degree in planning, the Guide to Undergraduate Education in Urban and Regional Planning included 28 schools with undergraduate planning degrees as of Fall 1980. In addition, the Guide lists 36 institutions offering non-degree planning curricula such as minors or concentrations. If this trend continues, prospects for the increased acceptance and growth of undergraduate planning education may be brighter than ever before.

The prospects for the undergraduate planning program at ECU appear good for several reasons. First, with approximately 60 majors currently enrolled and 94 projected for 1984-85, the curriculum has a well-established niche in the University. An international dimension has been added to the program since these projections include about 30 students from Malaysia. Second, over 120 ECU planning alumni hold planning-related positions; approximately 100 are in North Carolina. A substantial number of them

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Resurfacing Main Street

Downtown Revival Under The Main Street Program

The Main Street Program was initiated by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to assist small towns in revitalizing their downtowns. It began as a demonstration project in 1977 with three towns: Galesburg, Illinois; Madison, Indiana; and Hot Springs, South Dakota. The pilot project was supported mainly by corporation and foundation grants.

In 1980, the National Main Street Center was established with grants from six federal agencies: the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Economic Development Administration, the Department of Transportation, the Small Business Administration, the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

That same year the program was expanded to include five towns in each of six states. North Carolina was one of the six states selected. North Carolina towns chosen to be part of the national program were Tarboro, Washington, Salisbury, New Bern and Shelby.

The program in North Carolina is administered by the Division of Community Assistance in the Department of Natural Resources and Community Development. A staff of three professionals offers training and technical assistance to participating towns. The General Assembly passed a bill in 1980 appropriating $50,000 to the Main Street Program which was equally divided among the five original communities, but this was the only direct financial assistance the state has provided.

"THE STATE'S COMMITMENT TO THE SELECTED TOWNS RUNS FOR THREE YEARS; THE TOWNS ARE THEN EXPECTED TO CONTINUE THE PROGRAM ON THEIR OWN"

In 1982, the program in North Carolina was expanded to include five additional towns: Rocky Mount, Wilson, Clinton, Morganton and Statesville. The state's commitment to the selected towns runs for three years; the towns are then expected to continue the program on their own. It is anticipated that five additional towns will be designated in late 1984.

The thrust of the program is economic revitalization through historic preservation. The method of the program is self-help. It depends on local leadership for its success. The four components of the program are economic restructuring, administration, design and marketing. To qualify for Main Street designation a town must have a population of less than 50,000, a full-time downtown manager, an existing downtown organization with both public and private support, and an historically significant central business district.

Tarboro

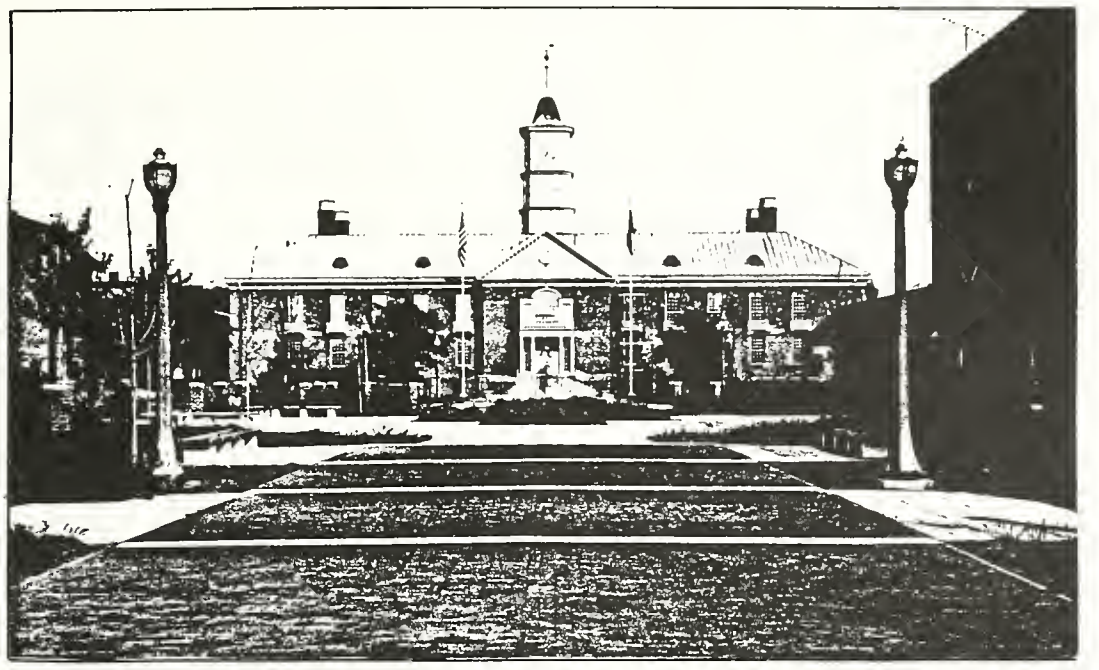
Tarboro is very proud of its 200 year history and well aware of its charm. The town developed in a grid form from a plan which included two public commons. Stately old homes line the Main Street leading to downtown where the center is marked by the Court House. Tarboro enjoys a progressive local government which has succeeded in preserving the historic character of the town, while moving it into the 21st century by attracting a wide range of state and federal grants.

In 1978, the town government initiated the downtown revitalization process by hiring the firm of Zuchelli, Hunter and Associates to prepare a market study. In May 1980, Tarboro received a $2.7 million Urban Development Action Grant to buy property in the downtown for renovation and resale.

Tarboro was one of the first North Carolina towns selected for the Main Street Program. A strong commitment to historic preservation and a proven downtown revitalization program were instrumental to its success. The town planning department's adequate staffing and funding also contributed to the city's attractiveness for Main Street assistance. The planning department was able to assign Phil Guy to direct the Main Street Program.

A Downtown Revitalization Advisory Committee assists the Main Street efforts. It is a twelve-member board composed of council members and advisory board members. Requests for financial assistance from the Main Street Program must be approved by this committee.

Beverly Kawalec has served on the Chapel Hill Town Council for seven years, and is a recent graduate of the Department of City and Regional Planning at The Unversity of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



Courthouse Square in Tarboro used Main Street Program funds for pedestrian development.

Rocky Mount, Wilson and Greenville are within 30 miles of Tarboro. Because of the proximity of these larger towns, Tarboro has never maintained a strong commercial center. Instead, Tarboro residents tend to shop in one of the other towns.

The emphasis which Tarboro placed on economic revitalization allowed the staff to focus on the design and organizational aspects of the Main Street Program. Unfortunately, promotion has yet to receive much attention. A Downtown Action Association was formed only this year to organize citizens in the downtown decision-making process.

To date, Tarboro's design accomplishments have been impressive. Thirty-three facade renovations have been completed. The town employed an architect to provide design assistance to interested businesses. As one of the charter members of the Main Street Program, Tarboro received $10,000 in state funds. With this money, an assistance program was established to provide grants of up to $500 for facade renovations. UDAG money was also used to provide low interest loans for facade renovations. To date, storefront renovations have involved over $235,000 in downtown improvements; property owners have contributed $223,000 of this outlay.

The Main Street Program has played a significant role in Tarboro's downtown revitalization program. With the Main Street program's administrative support and financial assistance, the town completed Courthouse Square -- a large courtyard with a pool, benches and landscaping; streets, sidewalks and parking lots have been rebuilt; and a park is under development along the Tar River. The most significant change in the downtown is the recent development of a 225 person retirement center. The facility filled a formerly blighted commercial block. Through the creative efforts of Tarboro's private and public sectors, the town has been able to consolidate local, state and federal revitalization monies with remarkable success.

Rocky Mount

Rocky Mount was designated a Main Street Town in 1982. Before that time, the Central City Revitalization Corporation served as the principal agency promoting downtown redevelopment. In its lifetime, the staff completed a historic building survey and designed preservation and economic development strategies to encourage the downtown's growth. Due to a lack of financial support, however, it dissolved in the late 1970s. With the loss of the Central City Revitalization Corporation, the Town Council approached the Redevelopment Commission to spearhead the new downtown effort. In an effort to insure its political acceptability, the Redevelopment Commission was restructured to include two new members who would represent downtown interests.

The Revitalization Commission held a series of public meetings to define the goals and objectives and set priorities for their efforts. From these meetings, the town chose to prepare a downtown comprehensive plan. Barton Ashman Associates were contracted to complete this project. Barton Ashman worked with Bob Leary, a planning consultant, and Gene Merrit, director of Wilmington's Downtown Area Revitalization Ef-

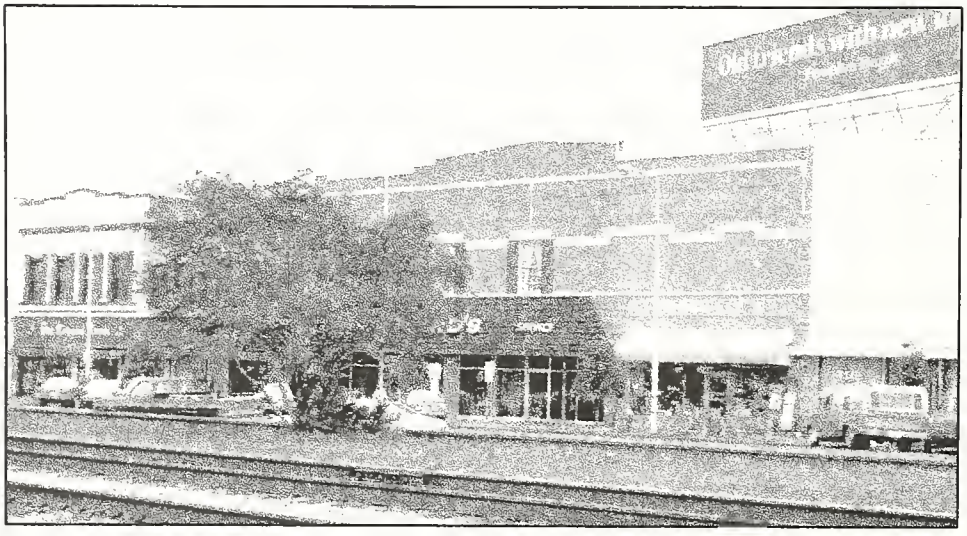
fort, to write the plan. The plan is currently under review by the Redevelopment Commission. After their approval, it will go to the council for adoption and inclusion in the town's comprehensive plan.

When the opportunity came in 1981 for Rocky Mount to apply for Main Street designation, the town was well prepared in terms of its administrative and financial capacity to fulfill the program objectives. Jack Steelman, a member of the town planning staff, was assigned to work with downtown redevelopment proponents.

The Main Street Program in Rocky Mount has received generous financial support from private interests. The Rocky Mount Junior Guild, a local women's club, contributed $5000 for the Facade Restoration Grant and Loan Program. Under the provisions of this program, downtown businesses will receive $500 or a twenty-five percent cost subsidy for facade renovations, whichever is less. Supplementing the Junior Guild's program, a local bank has established a $50,000 loan pool to provide funds for downtown renovations at 3 percentage points below current interest rates.

Two redevelopment projects have attracted strong interest and pride among downtown development interests. A new municipal building has contributed to the architectural rejuvenation of the area. It also provided new open space and parking opportunities one block from Main Street. Station Square is a $3.5 million office and retail complex which occupies a previously blighted block. The town assisted the development with a $400,000 grant for construction of a parking lot adjacent to the project.

Rocky Mount continues to make progress in its revitalization efforts. The projects described above are only a small part of the town's anticipated growth program.



Facade restoration in Rocky Mount

Department store facade renovation in Wilson

Wilson

Wilson is the county seat of Wilson County. As one of the county's two cities, Wilson has long been the hub of commercial activity for the region. It is the site of the home office of Branch Banking and Trust Company.

In 1980, Wilson had a population of 34,424. During the 1970-1980 period, the town witnessed an influx of industrial development. In spite of this growth, the downtown faltered. The first floor vacancy rate reached unparalled levels (18 percent). "Main Street", or in this case, Nash Street, was clearly in trouble.

The Heart of Wilson Association has functioned as the city's downtown development organization for many years. It is supported by member dues and employs a part-time consultant. In its first attempt to gain Main Street designation, Wilson failed. This failure spurred the City Council and the Heart of Wilson organization into action. Through their joint efforts, a municipal service tax district was proposed to fund a downtown development administrator. The Heart of Wilson Association contacted every

downtown property owner and found a majority in favor of its creation. A district was formed soon thereafter.

With this show of support from the businesses, the government prepared its agenda for downtown revitalization. On July 1, 1981, the Downtown Redevelopment Association was formed with an initial budget of $60,000; $20,000 raised from the municipal service tax district, $20,000 from the county's general fund, and $20,000 from the town's general fund.

The first action of the Downtown Redevelopment Association was to hire Greg Walker, a city planner, as director. When Wilson applied to the Main Street Program in the second round of the selection process, the town was easily accepted.

The Main Street Program in Wilson emphasizes economic restructuring. The program is seen as one part of a broad economic redevelopment program. In conjunction with the Main Street activities, the town established a $1 million loan pool to assist businesses in the downtown redevelopment area.

The Downtown Redevelopment Association designated $5,000 from its own $60,000 budget for use as incentive grants in the Main Street Program. The Association will give a business $500 or 20 percent of the cost of the renovation, whichever is less, for facade renovations.

Brick sidewalks and new plantings have been attractive additions to Tarboro's downtown.

The town's first Main Street grant assisted the construction of a new aluminum panel facade for an auto parts company. Another Main Street grant went to Cato's Clothing Store for a new stucco facade. A third grant allowed a hair dressing salon to purchase plants and furniture for its front office area. It was argued that the greenery would enhance the street-level image of the building and thereby improve the attractiveness of the downtown retail center.

Wilson does not have a strong architectural preservation commitment. It does have a Historic Properties Commission, however, and is in the process of conducting a study which will qualify the downtown to be designated a National Historic District. If successful, the designation will make downtown businesses eligible for a 25 percent federal tax credit on renovations.

In addition to financial assistance programs, downtown marketing efforts have also played an important role in the Main Street Program. A street festival called "Saturday on the Town" was held last spring. The Heart of Wilson Association also sponsors a downtown Fourth of July parade each year to promote the visibility and vitality of the commercial core.

OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, THE FIRST FLOOR VACANCY RATE DECLINED 14 PERCENT TO A RATE OF 4 PERCENT VACANCY

Wilson has begun to realize positive results from its redevelopment efforts. Over the past two years, the first floor vacancy rate declined 14 percent to a rate of 4 percent vacancy for all available first floor retail area. The county purchased a former bank building to renovate for offices. Branch Banking and Trust is developing a major new addition to its downtown office building. A new furniture store has also recently located downtown. Clearly, as part of a larger economic development strategy, the Main Street Program has assisted the broad revitalization efforts of Wilson.

Conclusions

A primary objective of the Main Street Program is economic revitalization. The various strategies and policies associated with the program are means for achieving this objective. In addition to design, administration and marketing components of the Main Street Program, other means of achieving downtown revitalization include:

A little greenery garnished this Wilson facade.

- public/private cooperation
- knowledge of financial tools and marketing and recruiting techniques
- strong leadership
- public support

The Main Street Program recognizes and encourages pursuit of a wide range of revitalization strategies it acknowledges the importance of strong leadership and public support in its requirements for a full-time downtown manager and an existing downtown organization. The program demands public/private cooperation. Participation in the program, moreover, provides city agencies with an information network; it encourages sharing of financial and marketing strategies employed by towns of similiar character and capacity.

Paradoxically, the Main Street Program can only be employed when a revitalization effort is well underway. If a town qualifies for Main Street designation, it has probably already succeeded in establishing a revitalization program. Clearly, if a town understands how to establish a revitalization program, it can get help from the state. But what of the towns that need help to establish a program? This is an elementary, but most important, issue confronting the Main Street policy-makers.

The fundamental measure of a useful revitalization program is its ability to create and retain jobs and housing. The means for achieving these goals include a knowledge of redevelopment finance options, marketing, and recruiting skills. The ability to achieve public/private cooperation is also essential. The state needs to provide assistance in these areas through its downtown program. The Main Street Program has shown that attention to design alone is not enough. Towns have a need for more basic and more extensive revitalization assistance.

ECU Education, *Continued from page 33*

have earned graduate degrees in planning or a related field. These men and women are an increasingly valuable resource for job leads and suggestions for curriculum improvements.

Finally, the continued growth of the ECU planning program may ultimately lead to accreditation by the American Planning Association. This would fulfill the North Carolina Chapter of the American Institute of Planners 1973 Statement on Planning Education..... "NCAIP should provide strong support to develop at least one bachelor's program in planning at a university in the state that fully meets AIP accreditation standards."

A piece by Donald A. Krueckeberg in the Winter 1984 issue of Journal of Planning Education and Research is relevant to Hankins and Stephenson's discourse on undergraduate planning education.

Krueckeberg's paper, "Planning and the New Depression in the Social Sciences", examines the growth of planning education over the past 30 years in institutions of higher education in the United States that peaked in 1975. Current projections of the number of planning graduate students relative to the total pool of graduate students indicates a serious decline in the number of planning students.

In the face of this enrollment decline, Krueckeberg suggests that planning educators dig deeper: educate a more productive planner for the society and economy in which we now live; one who offers a higher quality of services at a lower cost.

One "sacred tenet" of planning education that may be an obstacle to this approach, according to Krueckeberg, is that "professional planning education, correctly done, belongs mainly at the graduate level." This position has long been justified either by argument that planning education represents advanced training in a field or by the argument that it requires a platform of liberal education on which to build. In fact, however, most graduate students in planning have little or no prior education in the field and we teach them accordingly. Furthermore, a liberal education is not the national baccalaureate norm, either for students entering graduate planning schools or most other fields. Krueckeberg concludes that "the assumptions are simply false.....I believe this all implies a shift from an educational system dominated by graduate studies to one which gives major importance to undergraduate professional training."

In The Works, *Continued from page 5*

The aesthetics component will test several hypotheses relating to the residents' and visitors' cognitive perceptions of development on Hatteras Island. A recently-distributed survey was prepared in an effort to measure respondents' tolerance for density. Preferences for development types were determined through a comparison of photos and drawings of community designs. The hypotheses will be supported, qualified, or rejected by a regression analysis. This analysis of regional carrying capacity will, theoretically, have strong credibility in the community as a function of the islanders' participation.

Recreation demand is included in the study due to the National Park Service's ownership interest (63 percent) in the island. The recreation use threshold is important in order to protect the physical environment and to ensure visitor enjoyment of the area. This section of the study will involve visitor attitude surveys, assessed management objectives of the Park Service, and environmental impacts of recreation on the island's ecosystem.

Physical systems will also be studied in this carrying capacity project. Land availability measures will provide an estimate for build-out ceilings for Hatteras Island. The development floor will assume single-family construction throughout the area while the ceiling measures multi-family and condominium development. A mid-range estimate of capacity will assume a mix of both single and multi-family units. Water supply capacity will be examined relative to existing supplies and service needs. In order to protect the current water supplies, a moratorium has been placed on new subdivision approvals until the existing water system is expanded. Wastewater treatment capacity will be assessed relative to island soil conditions and septic tank allowances.

The implications of a carrying capacity study are radically different than those of classroom-oriented projects; most notably, the complexity of threshold analysis requires a thorough review of very technical environmental and social conditions associated with the Hatteras community. For the students, the exercise has been an important practicum. It has forced the development of a reasonable and manageable guidance system for a community of particularly delicate proportions.

The findings from each group will be reported to Dare County officials this summer. Copies of the Currituck or Hatteras Island Carrying Capacity reports can be obtained by contacting the Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Hickerson House 067A, UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

County Planner, *Continued from page 9*

Second, Scott believes that planning boards should consists of anyone with an interest in planning. "Everyone should have access to the Planning Board, to sit on it and to listen and to vote. Citizen input in county government is too dadgum narrow."

Third, Scott sees a need for improvements in orientation procedures for county board members. He feels that Planning Board members should be sworn in (as are Board of Adjustment members)

"CITIZEN INPUT IN COUNTY GOVERNMENT IS TOO DADGUM NARROW."

and that members of the Board of Adjustment and the Planning Board should receive training about relevant laws, powers and duties. He adds in the case of Planning Board members, "Actually, they have no powers."

In addition, "The County Commissioners should prepare a written charge to the Planning Board, outlining specifically what its duties are. It's incredible -- they have never had that."

Fourth, "The public has a right to know what its professional staff people think. Staff should be given the opportunity to express their views briefly, concisely and with proper deportment."

Finally, "More than anything else," says Scott, "I would like to see the general public recognize that planning is a managerial process and that plans and ordinances and regulations can be modified and changed as times change, but that they must be changed by following proper procedures." Pasted to the inside of the cover of Scott's copy of the county zoning ordinance is a quotation by U.S. Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter: "The history of liberty has largely been the history of the observance of procedural safeguards."

Scott observes with characteristic candor, "And you and I both know that rezoning procedures are for the birds, and a distinct species of birds at that -- buzzards!"

Retirement Plans

After leaving his post with Wake County, Scott plans to immerse himself in home-improvement projects and to "listen for the voice of God to tell me if there is something else He wants me to do to be useful in this world." With his usual dry wit he adds, "If it is not made known to me, I will assume that from thenceforth I may do as I damn well please!"

Book Reviews

- REVITALIZING AMERICA'S CITIES
- ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION OF INDUSTRIAL PLANT SITING
- GETTING TO YES: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In

Ted Olin Harrison

REVITALIZING AMERICA'S CITIES

Michael Schill and Richard P. Nathan
State University of New York Press, 1983.

Revitalizing America's Cities, by Michael Schill and Richard Nathan, is a sociological study which attempts to identify and assess the measureable costs and benefits of urban neighborhood revitalization. The study provides an analysis of the reinvestment and redevelopment process within various neighborhoods of Boston, Cinncinnati, Denver, Richmond, and Seattle. Neighborhoods within these cities were selected on the basis of perceived changes in real estate sales, property values and demographic trends. The primary data for the analysis included census material, survey research findings and statements from local public officials.

Schill and Nathan are primarily concerned with a comparison of reinvestment impacts on rates of urban displacement. This comparison develops from four policy questions which frame the book's central discussion:

1. What is the magnitude of displacement in revitalizing neighborhoods?
2. Are some socio-economic or racial groups more prone to displacement?
3. Do displaced households encounter significant hardships which are attributed to displacement?
4. Are there any identifiable subgroups of displaced population in need of special help due to especially severe hardships?

Answers to these concerns were derived from a series of phone questionnaires, closed-ended surveys and personal interviews. The sample involved 1439 potential outmovers from the mentioned neighborhoods. Of these households, 507 responded to the survey (35 percent). The survey results are outlined in tables throughout the text discussion.

The findings pertinent to the reinvestment policy questions support previous conclusions of the displacement/gentrification literature (Goodman, Black, James, Spain). Notably, displaced households included greater proportions of single-person, Hispanic, and low-income family composition than non-displaced households. In the sample, only 23 percent of all responding households could be characterized as "displaced". Female-headed households and unemployed-headed households were the only statistically significant groups associated with high displacement incidence.

Questions of hardship received broad, though unconvincing, attention throughout the text. According to Schill and Nathan, over 70 percent of the displaced households moved to homes in adjacent neighborhoods (or within the same zip code). Conditions of crowding and unit suitability were described as generally unchanged for displaced households. Though median rents increased for displaced households, the rent-per-room ratio remained constant and crowding was slightly decreased. Ratings of home and neighborhood quality revealed similar satisfaction: 61 percent rated their new homes as good or excellent; 67 percent liked their current homes and neighborhoods better than their previous ones. In the period between displacement and new home location, the authors found that displaced households took only slightly longer than non-displaced households to find a suitable location: 18 percent of the displaced households took six months or longer as opposed to 13 percent of the non-displaced households. A probit analysis was employed to test hardship responses. Again, the model showed only slight levels of significance for subgroups likely to be displaced by reinvestment. The only significant variable associated with hardship was a very low household income level.

In contrast to the findings of Herbert Gans and Cybriwsky, Schill and Nathan conclude that homogeneous and culturally unified neighborhood areas are an exception to reinvestment targeted areas. Instead, the authors suggest that a more common revitalization area includes, "high concentrations of very low income people, deterior-

ating housing and people frightened by rampant crime...Low income persons continue to live in these areas not only because of the low-income housing they contain, but also because many lack the skills and resources to seek out more suitable neighborhoods" (p.119). This appraisal of community structure and household instability is not supported by the research. Schill and Nathan step far beyond reasonable analytic speculation to suggest that the neighborhoods generally targeted for revitalization are comprised of "fearful", disaggregated and ignorant persons. This rather insensitive perspective is perhaps more reflective of the authors ethnocentricity than a description of actual neighborhood conditions. In contrast to Gans' work, Schill and Nathan do not supplement their research with open-ended survey instruments or participant observation collection techniques. The restricted structure of the research methodology, therefore, may have seriously underestimated the hardship impact.

Clearly, reinvestment promises a significant contribution to the renaissance of American urban areas. The impact of reinvestment on low-income and disadvantaged households within the central city, however, cannot be discounted. As a vehicle for improved urban development, reinvestment must work in conjunction with the demands of less advantaged households. More developed and encompassing research strategies, therefore, will be required for a more complete and convincing analysis of revitalization consequences.

Carol Shaw

ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION OF INDUSTRIAL PLANT SITING

Christopher J. Duerksen
The Conservation Foundation, 1983

In late 1969, Kelly Springfield Tire Company, a subsidiary of Goodyear, began searching for a site on which to build a new factory. The company chose Fayetteville, North Carolina, and thirteen months later produced its first tire. Just six years later, in 1975, Standard Oil of Ohio (SOHIO) announced plans to build a major crude oil terminal and pipeline at the port of Long Beach, California. Before the project could be started, it needed 60 environmental permits, and over three years later, SOHIO scrapped the terminal, citing environmental regulation as the problem. Clearly, the rules for siting industrial facilities had changed drastically by the mid-seventies, when serious environmental problems throughout the country caused all levels of government to enact many new environmental regulations. Corporate planners could no longer choose industrial sites by doing market analyses; they had to depend on qualifying for a series of environmental permits.

Changing the rules of the industrial siting game has caused industry to claim that environmental regulations are blocking much needed economic growth. In Environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting, Christopher J. Duerksen explains these concerns of industry by considering what he calls the myths of the impact of environmental regulation. The four myths that the book explores are:

1. Environmental quality regulations cause industry to flee to other countries
2. Environmental lures lead to interstate industrial flight
3. Red tape is strangling industrial development
4. Other countries are better at reconciling environmental regulation with industrial development

In all four cases, Duerksen finds that industry's claims are actually myths that cannot be supported.

Even though Environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting supports the idea that environmental regulation has little effect on the economy, the book does recognize the cost of

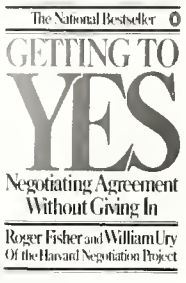
"DUERKSEN CONSIDERS...ONE STOP PERMITTING OR RESTRICTING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, BUT HE REJECTS THESE SOLUTIONS AND PROPOSES WHAT HE CALLS 'QUIET REFORMS'..."

environmental protection and its indirect impacts on productivity, innovation, and inflation. The environmental regulatory system is not without problems, and Duerksen points them out quite clearly. An example of weaknesses he perceives is the confusing and uncertain structure of the permitting process which does not always produce environmentally sound decisions.

After exposing the myths and problems of industrial siting and environmental regulation, Environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting offers solutions for making the regulatory process better. Duerksen considers some of the proposed cure-all reforms such as one-stop permitting or restricting citizen participation, but he rejects these solutions and proposes what he calls "quiet" reforms that focus on procedural and institutional changes. The "quiet" reforms suggested would improve communication between industry and regulators by encouraging both government and business to consider each others needs.

Since most state and local governments are interested in encouraging industrial development without compromising environmental concerns, En-

vironmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting is an excellent primer for economic development and environmental planners who must reconcile industrial and environmental needs of their communities. If all the players in the industrial siting game read this book, planners and industry may be able to cooperate in the future.



Kathleen Leyden

GETTING TO YES

Roger Fisher and William Ury
Penguin Books , 1983

Getting to Yes by Fisher and Ury, is a practical guide to successful negotiation techniques and strategies. The book's concise and highly readable format have contributed to its best-seller status. The authors direct the Harvard Negotiation Project at Harvard University.

For planners, the process of negotiation offers an appropriate new role for the profession. Fisher and Ury's techniques can assist the development of this role and mitigate the frustration and/or lack of agreement that often results when different constituents enter into a decision-making process. Negotiation efforts in inter/intra-office conflicts, public/private ventures, investment strategies, and participatory processes are a few examples of the usefulness of a refined negotiation skill.

Fisher and Ury begin their analysis with a description of traditional negotiation forums and styles. Negotiation is defined as a means of "getting what you want from others". Ideally, it involves a two-way communication where two (or more) parties reach agreement from their common interests and differences. The authors regard traditional negotiation style as "positional bargaining". It involves a situation

"NEGOTIATION IS DEFINED AS A MEANS OF 'GETTING WHAT YOU WANT FROM OTHERS.'"

where two or more interests enter negotiation forum convinced of their position, unprepared to make concessions. The objective of "positional bargaining" is the maximization of personal welfare. As planners well know, the likelihood of success from negotiations of a positional bargaining type are inversely related to the number of participants involved.

In an effort to rectify the liabilities of traditional negotiation methods, Fisher and Ury outline a process of "principled negotiation" -- a set of techniques which provide an all-purpose model for multi-party negotiations, collective bargaining, and single or multi-issue decisions. The four rules associated with the practice of principled negotiation involve:

- separate the people from the problem
- focus on interests, not positions
- generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do
- insist that the result be based on some objective criteria
- the agreement must reflect a fair standard that is independent of personal will

In Section 2, "The Method", the authors offer more detailed instructions for the game of principled negotiation. Useful "how to" chapters include how to deal with "the people problem", instructions for identifying the multiple interests of negotiating partners, rules for brainstorming to elicit creative options of mutual gain; suggestions for easing the decision-making process; and guidelines for developing objective criteria for decision-making are thoroughly explored.

The final section of Getting to Yes describes common problems which limit effective negotiations. These include: what to do when your opponent is more powerful, how to act if the other side refuses to play according to the rules of principled negotiation, and how to handle a situation where your opponent uses underhanded bargaining techniques.

Getting to Yes is not offered as a panacea for dispute resolution. Fisher and Ury do not claim to have invented anything particulary new. On the contrary, the authors contribution to negotiation science is valuable as a compilation of common sense behavior-modification techniques. When reasonably developed, principled negotiation offers a simple means of deriving mutually satisfying and efficient decisions. Unlike traditional adversarial decision-making approaches, the authors suggest that principled negotiation may become easier as more actors become familiar with its methods. More importantly, the thoughtful practice of Fisher and Ury's negotiation techniques will improve the communication skills of planners and other professionals. As a concise and informative manual for interpersonal decision-making, Getting To Yes should be a "yes" for all planner's personal libraries.

Ted Harrison and Kathleen Leyden are Master's candidates in the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Carol Shaw is a Fiscal Research Assistant for the North Carolina General Assembly.

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